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THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1892.

BY THE HON. JAMES G. BLAINE.

THE lack of excitement and of active interest in the Presidential campaign of 1892 is a feature common to both parties. For a period of more than three months after the nominations were made, the country gave no intimation of any special concern in the result. Possibly this may indicate that henceforth Presidential elections will attract less absorbing attention than heretofore; that as the people grow more numerous they grow less partisan; and that all political elections seem of less moment to a Republic of sixty-five millions, engaged in business transactions of immense magnitude, than to a Republic of twenty millions, whose financial affairs bore not even a proportionate value to those of the Republic of to-day. The elder Harrison's campaign took place in a nation of seventeen millions of people. Every man in the country, nearly every woman, it may almost be said every child, was engaged for months in watching its progress and shaping its result. It would be impossible for the campaign of the younger Harrison to enlist the same degree of popular attention, and it would be a serious interference with the business of the country if it were possible. Vast commercial and financial operations supremely interest so many men that a large proportion of the population give no more attention to an election than simply to vote, and even this patriotic duty is too often neglected.

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An equally noticeable change is in the length of the letters of acceptance, and the freedom with which the respective candidates address public meetings and write letters on questions of interest that may arise during the canvass. Mr. Clay's letter accepting the Baltimore nomination, an affair of great moment, was comprised in a few lines, and Mr. Lincoln, who belonged rather to the modern than to the ancient period of the Republic, followed Mr. Clay's example, his whole expression of views being confined to a short paragraph. A strong warning against the writing of intermediate letters was found in the belief that Mr. Clay lost his election by frankly expressing his views on a question pending in the campaign. Mr. Lincoln was too shrewd to write a letter between his acceptance of the nomination and the election. Within the last twenty years, however, all this has changed. Speeches are made and letters are written freely by the Presidential nominees during the canvass, and the people become acquainted with the candidate's belief on every question that arises.

President Harrison has written a letter of acceptance which touches every point at issue. The letter is of unwonted length, but it makes a full exposition of every principle to which the Republican party is in anywise committed, with no attempt to withhold or conceal anything for which the Republican party may be justly held responsible, and with a fair review of the questions presented by the Democratic party. Every voter can read for himself, and decide for himself upon the issues in advocacy of which the Republican party goes before the country. Perhaps none of the President's predecessors have made so exhaustive, and none a more clear, presentation of the questions involved. Marked by his well-known cogency of expression, no further condensation could be made without the sacrifice of clearness.

It will be observed, however, that the President places his own explanation of party principles against the resolutions of the convention—commonly called the platform ; and it is not less observable that the resolutions of a convention have come to signify little in determining the position of President or party. Formerly the platform was of first importance. Diligent attention was given, not only to every position advanced, but to the phrase in which it was expressed. The Presidential candidate was held

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closely to the text, and he made no incursions beyond it. Now the position of the candidate, as defined by himself, is of far more weight with the voters, and the letter of acceptance has come to be the legitimate creed of the party. Notoriously, little heed is given to an exposition of principles by the Committee on Resolutions, and less heed is given to resolutions when submitted to the Convention at large. This springs naturally from the fact that great haste characterizes the preparation of the platform, and if one man of the committee has any political hobby that he wishes to incorporate, he has little trouble, from the general inattention of the members, in compassing his end. Conventions often embody issues which are impracticable, and occasionally some that are mischievous and embarrassing.

Whether this mode of a full confession of faith is better than the brief style of earlier Presidential nominees, it is not necessary to determine. Probably it will be decided in each case by the topics on which the candidate desires to communicate his views. If Mr. Lincoln, in his first election, had attempted to be as frank and explicit upon the delicate and dangerous questions then before the public as later Presidential candidates have been, and to add to the platform an exposition of his own, he might have involved himself in inextricable confusion, and have lost his election by the very difficulty of expressing with advantageous brevity the position which the Republican party occupied. His letter of acceptance was short, but it said all that was safe to say:

"SPRINGFIELD, Ill., June 23, 1860.

"SIR: I accept the nomination tendered me by the convention over which you presided, of which I am formally apprised in a letter of yourself and others, acting as a committee of the convention for that purpose. The declaration of principles which accompanies your letter meets my approval, and it shall be my care not to violate it or disregard it in any part. Imploring the assistance of Divine Providence, and with due regard to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the convention, to the rights of all the States and Territories and people of the nation, to the inviolability of the Constitution, and the perpetual union, prosperity, and harmony of all, I am most happy to coöperate for the practical success of the principles declared by the convention.

"Your obliged friend and fellow-citizen,

"Hon. GEORGE ASHMUN. ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

Ex-President Cleveland's letter of acceptance is not so long as President Harrison's, but it is more distinguished for differing from the platform of his party. It differs not simply in point of

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explicitness and detail, but in substance of doctrine. *In fact, Mr. Cleveland has made the platform upon which he is now before the people.* The important issue of the Tariff has undergone some singular changes in the Democratic party in this canvass. A rather long resolution on the tariff, which dealt largely in argument and was mild in its conclusions, was reported by the Committee on Resolutions to the National Democratic Convention. The distinguished chairman of that committee was a member of Mr. Cleveland's Cabinet, and it was presumed that the resolutions contained the views of Mr. Cleveland himself. But no sooner were they reported in convention than they met with decided opposition, and a substitute was adopted of the most radical type, approaching more nearly to Free Trade than any Democratic National Convention had hitherto ventured.

This resolution was evidently received with disfavor by a majority of the country,—by all Republicans and by that numerous class who, though believers in the doctrine of protection, adhere to the Democratic party. Mr. Cleveland, when he met the representatives of his party at a large mass-meeting in Madison Square Garden for the purpose of receiving official notice of his nomination, made a response which showed plainly that the resolution of the Convention did not meet his views at that time. This conclusion he has made more emphatic by his letter of acceptance, an extract from which will be instructive:

"Tariff reform is still our purpose. Though we oppose the theory that tariff laws may be passed having for their object the granting of discriminating and unfair governmental aid to private ventures, we wage no exterminating war against any American interests. We believe a readjustment can be accomplished in accordance with the principles we profess without disaster or demolition. We believe that the advantages of freer raw material should be accorded to our manufacturers, and we contemplate a fair and careful distribution of necessary tariff burdens, rather than the precipitation of free trade.

"We anticipate with calmness the misrepresentation of our motives and purposes, instigated by a selfishness which seeks to hold in unrelenting grasp its unfair advantages under the present tariff laws. We will rely upon the intelligence of our fellow countrymen to reject the charge that a party comprising a majority of our people is planning the destruction or injury of American interests; and we know they cannot be frightened by the spectre of impossible free trade."

It seems hardly credible that the gentleman who alarmed the whole country, or at least the Protection part of it, by his message of 1887, could have spoken so moderately on the subject of the

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Tariff, five years later. It sounds like an old Whig letter of mild Protection at a time when that party was so hard pressed by the Democracy that to assume advanced ground was to court defeat. It evinces a most gratifying advance in political science. But whether Mr. Cleveland will gain more by this advance of position than he will lose by the charge of political inconsistency sure to attend it, is a problem yet to be solved. Change of front in presence of the enemy is a dangerous movement in political as well as in military tactics. Mr. Cleveland counts certainly upon the continued support of the Free-Trade contingent of New York, and upon the large element of the same mode of thinking which has always existed in the West and Southwest. Neither of these classes, he rightly assumes, can be driven to join the Republicans, who take more decisive ground than Mr. Cleveland. But by his changed position he aims to bring to his hearty support many thousands of voters who are to-day opponents of the Free-Trade platform of his party.

The fact that Mr. Cleveland made such decisive modifications in the Free-Trade resolutions of the Convention is a great tribute on his part to the essential strength and popularity of Protective duties. It has often been said, and Mr. Cleveland apparently confirms it, that three-fourths of the country believe in Protection in some form, and are radically hostile to venturing upon a policy that aims at Free Trade.

In the paragraph relating to the currency, while attempting to make a comprehensive statement, Mr. Cleveland has evidently fallen into error. It may be quoted:

> "But whatever may be the form of the people's currency, *national or State*, whether gold, silver or paper, it should be so regulated and guarded by governmental action, or by wise and careful laws, that no one can be deluded as to the certainty and stability of its value."

If in this statement he contemplates the possibility of the currency being of a State issue, how can it be "regulated and guarded by governmental action?" How will that comport with the independence claimed for the States by the Democratic creed? And if it is to be regulated and guarded by governmental action, what need of the State having any participation in the issue of currency? If we repeal the ten per cent. tax, according to the Democratic platform, the States have the right to issue circulating notes immediately, under whatever regulations their legisla-

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tures may prescribe. But the language of Mr. Cleveland implies that they are to be prevented the full liberty of issue; that they are to be restrained by "laws"—"regulated and guarded by governmental action." When the ten per cent. tax was enacted, during the war, to prevent the States from issuing currency, it was held by Secretary Chase, and generally concurred in by public men of both parties, that there was no other way of restraining the States from the power of issue. It will be observed that we do not directly restrain them. We only levy a tax which makes State issues unprofitable. The power to tax is said to be the power to destroy, and we here use it to that very end. If the government possesses the power of "regulating and guarding it by governmental action," the States could have been controlled without levying the ten per cent. tax on circulation. In fact, Mr. Cleveland gives in his adhesion to the repeal clause, and adds a provision designed to take the evil out of it, when it is all the while impossible to make that provision effective. He is self-deceived and, unintentionally no doubt, deceives others.

The truth is that some of the Southern States are bent on issuing currency, and this clause of the Democratic platform was to enable them to do it. If there be any clause entirely mischievous, any one with power to do immense harm and to do no good to the country, it is the one adopted by the Democratic National Convention on the ten per cent. tax. We cannot be mistaken in saying that Mr. Cleveland would have strengthened himself by an absolute negation of his party convention's action. But he has sought to give a gentle assent and to forestall harm by accompanying it with judicious checks which cannot be enforced. The whole mischief lies untouched and unchecked if the tax be but repealed.

A somewhat amusing conclusion of Democratic accusations has happened in the matter of National expenditures. In the first session of the Fifty-first Congress the total expenditures were nearly five hundred millions of dollars, and one is somewhat at a loss to know which cause was the most potent in the elections of that autumn, the "Billion-dollar Congress," or the McKinley tariff. *Five hundred millions of dollars* was a very high sounding sum to harp on for the expenditure of a single year; but it must be remembered that this nation is immense in area and in population, and that every part of it is making stringent efforts at

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progress. Progress means additional national ability and additional national expenditure, and the aggregate amount per year is larger than that of any other nation in the world. While the Democrats were yet blowing at full note their bugle blasts of horror at Republican extravagance, it was suddenly discovered that the first session of the Fifty-second Congress, under Democratic control by a large majority, had expended more than five hundred millions, and had exceeded the appropriations of the Republicans the year before.

The amount we contribute for pensions is larger than the amount paid by any of the European nations for a standing army. Surely the binding up of the wounds of a past war is more merciful and honorable work than preparing the country for a new one. Every year the nation grows more able to pay, and when there shall be no pension roll, the country will be glad to remember that it has expended so vast a sum in payment of an honorable obligation. Great complaint has been made at various times of the amount of money paid from the National Treasury for fraudulent pensions. It cannot be possible that any party in this country wishes to shield fraud, and the gentlemen who complain so loudly should give a guise of proof to their allegations by producing, each in his own community, at least one pensioner whose name is fraudulently on the roll.

The most remarkable thing in the Presidential canvass of 1892 is the manner in which, in some sections of the country, all other issues have been put out of sight and the Force Bill alone brought into prominence. The author of this policy is Mr. Charles A. Dana, of the New York *Sun*, and it is a great tribute to his zeal and ability that such a result should have been achieved. At the beginning of the year the South, in many of the States, gave evidence of such a break in party lines, such hostility to the free-trade sentiments of the Democracy, that there was good ground for believing that its solidity would be broken, and that the Republican party might receive the electoral votes of some States in that section—notably the two Virginias, Tennessee and Alabama. The continued solidification of the South, if such a result can be accomplished, will be primarily the work of Mr. Dana alone. An old Whig, he has certain convictions on the tariff and on the currency that render it difficult, if not impossible, for him to give cordial support to the Democratic party, and he has declined,

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with the powerful aid of *The Sun*, to make any other issue than the Force Bill. He found his opportunity for urging this policy, in a resolution passed by the Republican National Convention, in these words:

> "We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right, guaranteed by the Constitution, the free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal protection under the laws as the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State."

It is due to candor, however, that Mr. Dana should state that the President, in his exhaustive letter of acceptance, while not repudiating the principle of honesty and fairness which underlies this resolution, takes different ground from that maintained by the Republican National Convention. It will be observed that President Harrison, after reciting the unfair practices in the South, avers that the Southern States themselves, freely, by their own action, have passed laws against unfair apportionments, and that he looks to the States for the correction of all that is complained of in the matter of elections. He suggests that he shall urge upon Congress that provision be made "for the appointment of a non-partisan commission to consider the subject of apportionments and elections in their relation to the choice of Federal officers." And he offers to urge further upon Congress the passage of a law which will give to the Supreme Court the appointment of the non-partisan Commission. Greater liberality of action, or fairer-minded treatment of a question surrounded with the gravest difficulty, could not be found. Mr. Dana should at least, with his usual impartiality, state the President's position, and should agree that if any State refuses to abide by the judgment of the non-partisan commission appointed by the Supreme Court, it should be taken as an exhibition in that State of a disposition to deal unfairly with this great question.

There is no subject with which the party of Free Trade struggles more desperately than Reciprocity. The unerring instinct of self-preservation seems to inspire a lively resentment against the name, and a truly Darwinian instinct of natural selection appears in the example chosen to prove its inutility. The narrowest

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treaty of Reciprocity that was negotiated with any country was with Brazil. It is a country in which time is especially needed to change the lines of commerce. In the end, Brazil will probably show as good results, proportionally, as any other country. But at present it furnishes the least field for Reciprocity; therefore our Democratic friends, with military uniformity, lead up to Brazil to prove that the Reciprocity policy is a failure! With the wisdom of the serpent they never summon the Leeward and Windward islands, fifteen in number, Jamaica and Barbadoes, to bear testimony. Our whole dealing with those islands is in agricultural products, and the aggregate is so large that the islands consider themselves, commercially, almost a part of the United States. They take from the outside world as much as they can afford, and for agricultural products nearly every dollar that is expended comes to the United States.

But it is in the island of Cuba that Reciprocity has done the most; and no footfall of a Democratic campaigner ever disturbs the silence which hangs over Cuba when Reciprocity is under censure. No Democratic objector asks the millers of the country who send flour to Cuba, what have been the results. Statistics in the State Department show that for the first half of 1892 we sent 337,000 barrels of flour to Cuba, making for the whole year 674,000 barrels. During the same period of 1891 we sent only 14,000 barrels, or an average for the year of 28,000 barrels. Considering the small quantity we had previously sent, and that the duty was $5.75 a barrel, amounting to nearly the value of the flour delivered in Cuba, and operating, except under peculiar conditions, as a prohibition, the sagacity of Democratic silence must be conceded! A trade of $4,000,000 in flour, where we had not more than $175,000, is not a bad showing for the first year of Reciprocity.

For the year ending August 31, our total exports to Cuba were $19,700,000, and for the same period the preceding year they were $11,900,000, an increase, it will be observed, of sixty-five per cent. Another year will show still greater gains. This large increase of exports can be made more strikingly significant by a presentation of facts which must convince the most sceptical that it is due entirely to Reciprocity. An examination of Treasury statistics will show that the annual amount of exports from the United States to Cuba during the fifteen years from 1877 to 1891

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did not greatly vary; and the average for the whole period was $11,700,000 per annum. The exports for 1891 were slightly higher, therefore, than this average. The increase of $8,000,000 in 1892 represents, therefore, not only a gain of 65 per cent. over the year 1891, but a gain of 67 per cent. over the average annual amount of exports for a period of fifteen years previous. Moreover, of this gain of $8,000,000, nearly $4,000,000, as I have before said, were in flour; and nearly $2,000,000 more were in bacon, pork, and the various articles which are classed under the head of "provisions." Three-fourths of the increased exports to Cuba were, therefore, the products of the farm. The same is true, in equal or greater ratio, of the increase caused by reciprocal treaties with the islands and countries of America, and particularly by the treaties made with European countries.

The Democratic party earned the name of being bad neighbors, violators of the Neutrality laws and disturbers of the peace, for their several attempts to take Cuba by force. Let me not be supposed to insinuate that the Government, in the hands of the Democratic party, compromised its good faith; but the attempts upon Cuba, originating in the Southern States, were justly chargeable with being Democratic in origin. Republicans adopt Reciprocity as a more excellent way to capture it. We do Cuba great good by the lower prices at which commodities are furnished to her inhabitants; we do ourselves great good by the profit on the trade.

It was said by William Pitt, in 1792, that he had reconquered the States by their increased commerce with the mother country; that within eight years from the treaty of peace the republic had given more commerce to Great Britain, and exchanges were larger and more profitable, than when George III. was the ruler of America. By virtue of the Reciprocity treaty (an advantage which England, under William Pitt, did not have with the United States) we shall conquer by commerce far better than by force of arms, and gradually establish such mutual interests between Cuba and this country that commercially the two countries will be one. Already Cuba sends ninety per cent. of its products to the United States, and the Reciprocity treaty is the first attempt we have seriously or successfully made to equalize the trade by asking Cuba to take from us the larger portion of what she consumes. No Democratic speaker will venture to give these statistics, but un-

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less he gives them he cannot give the true history of Reciprocity, which is that we get a valuable consideration for what would otherwise have gone on the free list without recompense or reward to us.

It will be observed, too, that we are attempting to increase our trade, by Reciprocity treaties, in the right direction. For a series of years our trade with the rest of the world has been largely in our favor. But we have annually against us so heavy a sum in Spanish America as to outweigh our balance elsewhere. If we can in any degree lessen that sum we shall save a portion of our gold coin that is retained on the other side of the Atlantic from our large exports, to pay drafts from Spanish America on citizens of the United States, made payable in London. This the Democrats have not seemed to notice, though it has been going on year after year. The Reciprocity policy is the first attempt at a change. Already the treaties negotiated have reduced our adverse West Indian and South and Central American balances to an appreciable extent. If supported and encouraged, Reciprocity will be the means of greatly lessening what has so long been an enormous balance against us in Spanish America.

The first resolution of the Democratic platform states that "the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, do re-affirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of successors in Democratic leadership, from Madison to Cleveland." Democrats thus seize every occasion to assume that modern Democracy was founded by Jefferson at the beginning of the century, and that all the defeats they have since received are mere interruptions of the century's flow of Jeffersonian principles, which they are especially deputed to uphold. The phantom of Jefferson appears duly in every Democratic National Convention, in every platform adopted, in every response which the candidate makes to his nomination.

It would surprise Jefferson, if he could once more appear in the flesh, to learn that he is held as indorser of all the principles and measures advocated by the Democratic party of to-day. It is perhaps not worth while to enter into any elaborate argument on the subject, but the Democracy owes no little of its success to the persistence with which its adherents have made their dis-

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ciples believe this pretension through all the mutations of their party. It was equally true, it must be supposed, when Mr. Buchanan, a confirmed Federalist, was the President-elect of the Democracy; though it is well known that the object of Mr. Jefferson's most intense dislike was the Federal party. In vain is it pointed out that the position of Jefferson on any subject was directly the reverse of the Democratic position: he is duly quoted at the next convention, and a new oath of allegiance is taken to his principles. In 1801, after a severe contest, Jefferson came to the Presidency as the founder and head of the Republican party. The prefix Democratic was sometimes, though seldom, used. The tenacity with which Jefferson held to the Protective principle was only proportioned to the necessities of the country. His action in 1807, when he declined to recommend the repeal or alteration of the revenue law, after a surplus of fourteen millions had been accumulated, puts him in the sharpest contrast to Mr. Cleveland, who, in his term of office, treated the surplus accumulated as the sum of all villanies.

It is interesting and suggestive to look over the platforms of the two parties and see how much alike they are in several vital measures, after the real and divisive issues have been stated. In parallel columns they read: that the Republicans favor bi-metallism and dollars of equal value; that the Democrats favor bimetallism and dollars of equal value; both parties favor a navy, and both are in favor of building the Nicaragua Canal; both are opposed to trusts and demand more rigid laws against them; both are in favor of restricting immigration; both are hostile to Chinese immigration; both are in favor of public education, and both are hostile to any attempt at union of Church and State; both are in favor of making Congressional provision for the World's Fair; both are in favor of civil service reform; both are in favor of admitting the territories at the earliest possible moment; both sympathize with the Russian Jews; both are in favor of granting pensions; both are in favor of river and harbor improvements; both would avoid entangling alliances in our foreign policy. Out of this long platform the measures on which the parties really differ are the Tariff, Reciprocity, the tax on State banks and the Force Bill, if the Force Bill can be regarded as a party issue when so large a number of the Republican party do not favor it.

If parties would aim to discover and define those subjects on

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which there is a vital difference of opinion, and would confine discussion to those issues, it would not only simplify the contest and be a welcome relief to the candidates, but would also greatly help in arriving at the truth, which is the ultimate object of popular discussion and popular election.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

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THE SCANDINAVIAN IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY PROF. H. H. BOYESEN.

THE Chicago papers, at the time of the trial of the Anarchists, complimented the Scandinavians of the West on their law-abiding spirit, and the counsel for the accused emphasized the compliment by requesting that no Scandinavian should be accepted on the jury. He declared his intention to challenge any talesman of Norse blood on the mere ground of his nativity. Although this man probably had but slight acquaintance with Norsemen, the instinct which bade him beware of them was a correct one.

There is no nation in Europe that is more averse to violence, and has less sympathy with Utopian aspirations than the people of Norway and Sweden. They have been trained to industry, frugality and manly self-reliance by the free institutions and the scant resources of their native lands; and the moderation and self-restraint inherent in the cool blood of the North make them constitutionally inclined to trust in slow and orderly methods rather than swift and violent ones. They come here with no millennial expectations, doomed to bitter disappointment; but with the hope of gaining, by hard and unremitting toil, a modest competency. They demand less of life than continental immigrants of the corresponding class, and they usually, for this very reason, attain more. The instinct to save is strong in the majority of them, and save they do, when their neighbors, of less frugal habits, are running behind. The poor soil of the old land and the hardships incident upon a rough climate, have accustomed them to a struggle for existence scarcely less severe than that of the Western pioneer; and unilluminated by any hope of improved conditions in the future. The qualities of perseverance, thrift, and a sturdy sense of independence which this struggle

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from generation to generation has developed are the very ones which must form the corner stone of an enduring republic.

It is therefore a fact which all students of the social problem arising from immigration have remarked, that the Scandinavians adapt themselves with great ease to American institutions. There is no other class of immigrants which is so readily assimilated, and assumes so naturally American customs and modes of thought. And this is not because their own nationality is devoid of strong characteristics, but because, on account of the ancient kinship and subsequent development, they have certain fundamental traits in common with us, and are therefore less in need of adaptation. The institutions of Norway are the most democratic in Europe, and those of Sweden, though less liberal, are developing in the same direction. Both Norsemen and Swedes are accustomed to participate in the management of their communal affairs, and to vote for their representative in the national parliament; and although the power given them here is nominally greater than that they enjoyed at home, it is virtually less. The sense of public responsibility, the habit of interest in public affairs, and a critical attitude towards the acts of government are nowhere so general among rich and poor alike as in Norway and Sweden, notwithstanding the fact that the suffrage is not universal. No great effort is therefore required, on the part of Norwegian and Swedish immigrants, to transfer their natural interest in public affairs to the affairs of their adopted country, which now must concern them closely. With increasing prosperity comes a sense of loyalty to the flag, and a disposition, perhaps, to brag in the presence of later arrivals. To be an old settler is a source of pride and is recognized as a title to consideration. A large majority of the old settlers participated in the war, and naturally shared in the sentiment of militant loyalty and devotion to the Union which animated the Federal army. This is, perhaps, the chief reason why the Scandinavian element in the United States is so overwhelmingly Republican; for the newly-arrived immigrant, having no comprehension of the questions dividing American parties, is apt to accept his politics from the respected "old settler" and veteran, and feels safe, at the end of five years, in voting as he votes. Thus it happens that the war feeling, with its attendant hostility to the South, is transmitted to those to whom the war is but a dim tradition, and the militant politics of

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the veteran survives amid a peaceful generation that never smelled powder.

Another weighty reason for the loyalty of the Scandinavian to the Republican party is their hatred of the Irish.

I have heard it cited, not once but a hundred times, as a good reason for voting the Republican ticket that the Irish were all Democrats. It is no use to contradict this assertion, for the sentiment that Democracy and Irish nationality are synonymous terms is so deeply rooted in the Scandinavian agricultural population that it will require, as Sidney Smith says, a surgical operation to eradicate it. If, however, the Republicans should succeed in detaching the Irish in large numbers from their first allegiance, they must be prepared for a large defection of Scandinavian voters in Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin and Illinois. The Norseman and the Celt will, I fancy, never pull together, and can scarcely be gathered into one political fold. It is a deplorable fact that such an irrational race feeling should predominate over the interests and obligations of American citizenship, but such is nevertheless the fact, and it can not be gainsaid.*

I have so far presented the brighter side of Scandinavian immigration. That the Norwegians and Swedes as a race possess the virtues which I have attributed to them, no one who knows them will deny. Their national vice, at home, is drunkenness, and many of them bring lax notions and habits with them which wreck their careers, and while they continue to cumber the earth make them a perpetual burden to their countrymen.

It is a custom in Norway, and, in fact, in every European country, to send prodigal sons, who have ceased to be pleasant company even for the swine, to the United States. Young men of the so-called better classes who have squandered their substance in riotous living, and contracted habits that make them impossible as members of any civilized society, are furnished with a ticket to New York, where their first concern is to beg the price of a ticket to Chicago and thence perhaps to St. Paul or

*It is curious to note in this connection that Tammany Hall enjoys a notoriety in Europe which no other American political organization can boast. It is held up continually in the Scandinavian press (of conservative tendencies) as a warning example, and the inevitable result of democratic government. It was undoubtedly the fact that Tammany Hall was identified with the Democratic party which made me cast my first Presidential vote for the Republican nominee for whom I had but scant admiration; it was this same dread of Tammany which made me continue to vote the Republican ticket until 1880, although I believed in the principles of the Democratic platform. I fancy my case must be typical. For nearly every immigrant I have talked with on the subject confesses to a similar experience, only with the difference that he remained a Republican.

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Minneapolis. These light-hearted vagabonds who seem to think that their fate is everybody's concern but their own, have usually a very supercilious notion of America and its sordid money-worshipping inhabitants. They constitute themselves, after a brief and condescending survey of our social life and institutions, correspondents of conservative journals of Christiania, Stockholm and Copenhagen, and without having seen the inside of a single American home, unless it be that of a saloon-keeper, philosophize grandly on the lack of refinement in our manners, the lack of virtue and domesticity in our women, the lack of every redeeming feature—except that of industry and enterprise—in our whole national life. With the innocence of a new-comer they read and believe all the shocking stories of infidelity and crime in which the Sunday papers revel, and send them home as *bona fide* studies of American domestic manners. The more ludicrously exaggerated and mendacious these accounts are, the more widely they are read and sagely commented upon without reference to the worthlessness of the source from whence they proceed. A man whose opinion of his own country (which after a fashion he knows) no one would consider worth a farthing becomes, the moment he displays his insolent ignorance concerning the United States, a credible witness worthy of serious comment.

Happily, however, the prodigal constitutes a small proportion of the Scandinavian immigration, and is usually his own worst enemy. The vice of drunkenness to which many of these genteel outcasts succumb is steadily on the wane among the hardier immigrants of the West. The temperance movement has of late made great progress among both Norwegians and Swedes; their papers have taken up the subject with great vigor, and preach the gospel of abstinence with ability and eloquence. Public sentiment, which formerly looked with humorous indulgence upon the man who took a drop too much, now visits him with just condemnation. It is getting to be no longer a mark of good-fellowship to get drunk. The obvious disadvantages of inebriety in impairing a man's prosperity, and making him fall behind in the struggle for existence, are getting to be generally recognized, and are stimulating the public conscience, which formerly inclined to laxity. There is, indeed, much to be accomplished yet, but the good work is steadily and vigorously progressing.

The Scandinavians have been accused of clannishness, and not

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without cause. It should, however, be considered that the immigrant, of whatever nationality, has no choice but to be clannish, unless he chooses to associate with those who look down upon him, or dispense with social intercourse altogether. Native Americans are not in the habit of welcoming the immigrant with cordiality; and they have often good reason for regarding him with eyes not altogether friendly. Social intercourse can only be agreeable among people who recognize each other as equals, and no man can be blamed for shunning the society of those who refuse to grant him this recognition. It is therefore inevitable that alien communities should grow up in our midst, as long as we permit the stream of immigration to pour unimpeded down upon our shores. Each new arrival is attracted to the locality where he has friends or kinsmen; and when he has laid aside a little money his first desire is to draw more friends and kinsmen after him. Around this nucleus a constant aggregation of homogeneous alien elements will gather.

As soon as the settlement feels itself strong enough it will send for a Norwegian Lutheran clergyman and a schoolmaster, and their presence will be a further inducement for immigrants of the same race to settle in the region. The damp, unwholesome dug-outs are displaced with neat log cabins; a rude church, which also serves for a school-house, is erected; and, without any hostile intent, every effort is made to isolate the new community from the influences of the surrounding national life. All the old customs are, as far as possible, preserved; the old Norse speech (which, however, is always corrupted by the introduction of a kind of hybrid-English terms for things that were formerly unfamiliar) is the language of church and school, and daily intercourse; and the parson, knowing that his influence will endure only so long as he can exclude American ideas, loses no opportunity to warn his flock of the dangers, both temporal and eternal, which threaten him who goes in search of strange gods. When, now and then, a youth breaks away, which indeed is constantly happening, lured by the prizes of ambition in the great cities, he is spoken of as one who has imperilled his soul's salvation for the glittering treasure of this world. I have known Norwegian clergymen who have spent twenty or thirty years in the United States, and at the end of that time scarcely acquired any more knowledge of American life than they would have had if they had

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stayed quietly at home. Superficial half-truths and shallow generalization, based upon prejudice and undigested facts, they had indeed collected in abundance; but the point of view remained stubbornly hostile and alien, and their conclusions worthy of the writer of American editorials in the *Saturday Review*.

What I have here said refers, of course, only to country communities. In the great cities Scandinavians, though they have their own musical, athletic, and social organizations, are brought into such intimate contact with American life, that, as a rule, they become rapidly Americanized. In Chicago, where they number in the neighborhood of 150,000 to 175,000; in Minneapolis, where their number is somewhat less; in St. Paul, where in 1884 they claimed 30,000 to 40,000, they naturally play a considerable rôle in politics, and would play a far greater one if they were not so addicted to jealousies and internal dissensions. The Norwegians are jealous of the Swedes; the Swedes of the Norwegians; and the Danes of both. If a Swede runs for office, he can rarely count on Norwegian support, unless, perhaps, a special bargain has been struck, pledging Swedish support to a Norwegian candidate on the same ticket. But the difficulties of such a "deal" are almost insurmountable.

There is continual complaint in the Scandinavian papers of the West that the nationalities which they represent are not recognized in the distribution of offices; and it is alleged that in cities and counties, where the Scandinavians twice outnumber the Irish, the latter have a larger representation in municipal and county offices. The reason of this is not a lack of aptitude for public affairs on the part of Norwegians and Swedes; for, on the contrary, they take as naturally to politics as goslings do to water. But it is rather because they have not learned to suspend personal spites and resentments for the sake of a larger end to be gained. They have not learned party discipline nor the faculty to assert themselves as a unit. From the American point of view, this is perhaps not a matter of regret, but rather of congratulation. For we have already a pestiferous abundance of alien nationalities which have the insolence to claim recognition, not as bodies of American citizens, but as Irish, Germans, Bohemians, and Poles; as if in that capacity they had any right to participation in the government of the American republic.

The Scandinavian immigration to this country has its roman-

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tic tradition, which would furnish material for an epic. The Swedes, as is well known, settled in Delaware and New Jersey during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus and his daughter Christina, and mingled their blood, in a slight proportion, with that of the original three million Americans who engaged in the Revolution. The beginning of the immigration from Norway is of much more recent date. A Quaker, named Kleng Peerson, who had suffered persecution on account of his faith, gathered, in 1825, a number of his co-religionists and some besides who were not Quakers, and set sail for New York. The company, which consisted of fifty-two persons, bought a small sloop, which they loaded with a cargo of iron. After a perilous adventure on the coast of England they must have lost their reckoning, or the skipper must have been ignorant of navigation, for when next we hear of them they have drifted as far south as the island of Madeira, where they found a cask of good wine floating in the sea. To celebrate this piece of good fortune, the captain, the crew, and some of the passengers got drunk, and the ship drifted without colors or command into the harbor of Madeira. Here it was supposed that they had yellow fever or some other pestilence on board, and as no response was made to signals from the fortress, orders were given to fire upon the sloop. The cannon were just being aimed, when one of the sober passengers managed to run up the Norwegian flag and the danger was averted.

In New York, where the company landed after a voyage of fourteen weeks, their arrival excited quite a sensation, for it was unheard of in those days to cross the Atlantic in so small a craft. The majority of the immigrants settled in Morris County, near the city of Rochester, where they had to pay five dollars per acre for forest land. After many tribulations and hardships they began at length to prosper, and by their letters home induced others to join them. Quite a number of Norwegians emigrated, singly and in small companies, between 1825 and 1836; but it was not until the latter year that a second Norwegian settlement was planted in the United States. This time the settlers chose the Fox River region, in Illinois, which Kleng Peerson had selected for them. This man, who was the leader and pioneer of the Norwegian migration, foresaw the future development of this great and fertile continent, and was desirous that his own people should share in the making of the nation, which was to profit by the vastness of its resources.

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It is notable that, though in many of the earliest Norse settlements the descendants of the first settlers are still living, there is very little but their names (often Anglicized) and a certain Norwegian cast of features to indicate their Scandinavian origin. They speak English, and, if they have ever learned Norwegian, have usually forgotten it. They have intermarried with American families, and live, think, and feel as Americans. I have had letters from many of these people, asking me to suggest Norwegian names for their children, or inquiring about certain localities in Norway from which their parents or grandparents came. It would seem, judging by the rapidity with which they have adopted American speech and modes of life, that the problem of the assimilation of the immigrant may be safely left to time, without the interference of artificial agencies. But it must be remembered that, fifty or sixty years ago, the Scandinavian nationalities were completely lost in the ocean of American life, which beat upon them on all sides, and they had no choice but to drift with the current. I am far from believing now that they, or any other nationality, are strong enough to remain permanently alien in our midst; but they are surely able to resist, for a whole generation, the influence of our national life, and make the process of national assimilation extremely difficult for their children.

How stubborn a foreign people may be in adhering from generation to generation to inherited customs, habits, and speech, is strikingly demonstrated by the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch, who, after the lapse of a hundred years, speak a German dialect. The Dutch settlements in Wisconsin and those of the Mennonites of Pennsylvania and Ohio, though of more recent origin, have succeeded as completely in preserving their alien identity; and the Norwegians in Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin have only succeeded less completely, because they are a more ambitious and enterprising race, and in the second generation are drawn by their ambition into the vortex of political and commercial competition. Nevertheless, I cannot help believing that a great deal of valuable energy is lost or misdirected by the policy of exclusion, which keeps a settlement, at least for a generation, apart from the national life and retards the Americanization of the immigrant.

The system of parochial schools, too, which the Scandinavian Lutheran churches are endeavoring to establish, is directly hostile to the settler's best interests, being intended as a bulwark

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(and a most effective one) against the incoming tide of Americanism. For the public schools, with all their defects, have always served as a hopper into which all the mixed alien grain is poured, to be ground into flour, the general quality of which is American. Parochial schools, in which the teachers are of the children's own nationality and the text-books sometimes in foreign tongues and always foreign in tone and sentiment, can never perform this service, and are usually founded for the very purpose of perpetuating alienism and preventing the children of immigrants from becoming absorbed in the dominant nationality.

As the latest available statistics regarding the numbers and distribution of Scandinavians in the United States are those of the census of 1880, an estimate of their present strength must of necessity be more or less conjectural. Immigration has been subject to continual fluctuations since 1880, and reached its maximum in 1882 when the total number of aliens landed on our shores was 788,992, of whom 87,610 were natives of Norway and Sweden. The average since then has fallen below half a million, of whom Norway and Sweden have furnished from 30,000 to 60,000. The total Scandinavian population of this country (counting only actual immigrants) was, in 1880, 440,262. The number of arrivals during the last twelve years has aggregated above 400,000, and, making allowance for the death rate, it is probably fair to estimate the total at about 750,000. This figure is, however, wholly inadequate to represent the real Scandinavian element in our population. For the children and grandchildren of Norsemen, Swedes and Danes, though they may be American in sentiment, are yet ethnologically Scandinavians, and contribute Scandinavian characteristics to our composite nationality.

Mr. Albert Shaw, in an article in one of our magazines, estimated the total Scandinavian population of the United States, including descendants in the first generation, at 1,800,000, of whom upwards of 900,000 were born in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. I am inclined to believe that this estimate was somewhat too liberal five years ago, but the census of 1890, if it takes account of first descendants, will not fall much below that figure. Mr. Shaw's distribution of Scandinavians between the different States and territories is also, according to my judgment, fairly correct; "Minnesota," he says, "has not less than 400,000 people of Scandinavian descent. Wisconsin has from 225,000 to 300,000. The two

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Dakotas may be credited with fully 150,000 or more." All these estimates were made five or six years ago, and will no doubt be much modified by the next census bulletin dealing with distribution of population according to nationality.

That the Scandinavians are learning to assert themselves in politics is shown by the fact that they had three representatives in the Fiftieth Congress, viz.: The Hon. Knute Nelson, of the fifth Minnesota district, who is the present Republican nominee for Governor; the Hon. John Lind, a Swede, of the second, and the Hon. Nels P. Haugan, of the eighth Wisconsin district. Mr. Nelson declined renomination to the Fifty-first Congress, which contains besides Messrs. Lind and Haugan, the Republican M. N. Johnson, of North Dakota, and a member of the Farmers' Alliance named Kittel Halvorsen. State and county offices of Minnesota and Wisconsin have also to a large extent been filled with men of Norse and Swedish blood. President Cleveland was the first to honor a Norseman with a diplomatic office, appointing Prof. R. B. Anderson, of Wisconsin, Minister to Denmark.

The process of assimilation of the heterogeneous foreign elements which now constitute our population is similar to that which went on in England from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. During that period the Saxon, the Norseman, the Dane, and the Celt were gradually transformed into Englishmen. Race animosities were rife; Saxon and Norman hated each other as long as each could be plainly distinguished as native or alien. The same confusion and strife, though mitigated by the influences of a later civilization, may be looked for here, while we have to grind alien grain in the national hopper. But the more homogeneous nationalty, which in time will issue forth, will, I doubt not, justify the turmoil and noise and discomfort of the grinding, and the elements, physical and mental, which the Scandinavians will contribute to this final product will surely not be the least valuable.

HJALMAR HJORTH BOYESEN.

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POLITICS AND THE PULPIT.

BY BISHOP CYRUS D. FOSS, D. D., LL. D., OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

THE proper relation of Christian ministers to political questions cannot be determined without a rapid preliminary glance at both the conspicuous successes and the conspicuous failures of Christianity. The consideration of Christianity in either of these aspects, entirely apart from the other, is totally misleading and may land the careless observer either in reckless optimism or in hopeless pessimism. *Facts* can be gathered and marshalled so as to show that the Millenial glory is just about to burst over all the earth; and counter *facts* can be made to show that the historian of to-morrow will probably have to record the "Decline and Fall" of Christianity. There must be sober balance and honest perspective.

An English poet, glancing back over the weary centuries which have elapsed since the proclamation of "glad tidings of great joy unto all people," and then around upon the restless, sin-cursed globe, sadly sings:—

> "We have preached Christ for centuries,
> Until, at last, men learn to scoff,
> So few seem any better off."

A poet-divine shall answer this pessimistic singer. Canon Farrar says:

"Let not such notes of distress blind us to what is still a splendid reality. The abolition of slavery among Christian nations; the extinction of gladiatorial games and the cruel shows of the amphitheatre; war rendered more merciful; womanhood honored and elevated; childhood surrounded with an aureole of tenderness and embraced in the arms of mercy; education extended; marriage sanctified; the bonds of serfdom broken; hospitals built; the eternal and inalienable rights of man everywhere asserted; pity for the prisoners; compassion even to the animal world; the gospel

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preached to the poor—these are some of the *Gesta Christi*, some of the triumphs of Christianity. These belong not only to its ideal, but also in large measure to its achievements."

Yet, it must be sadly confessed, there are other facts just as solid which may well blanch the cheeks of the bravest. Terrific forces of evil menace Christianity and even society itself. The festering masses of vice and crime in our large cities, growing in bigness and badness every decade; the enormous increase of wealth, for the most part totally indifferent to the claims of poverty, and often recklessly defiant of them; shameless political corruption in the shadow of hundreds of church steeples; the steady and rapid growth of socialism tinged with anarchism and hurling dynamite; the seeming failure of the long-continued efforts of the multitudes of good men and women to make head against the awful evil of the drink curse; and the steady, forward march of the saloon power, corrupting legislatures, buying courts, and debauching politics; these and other allied forces of evil show the need of re-forming the lines of Christianity so that it shall face the foe. We cannot afford to be flanked or struck in the rear.

The Christian forces must change front and look their worst enemies straight in the eye. The brief roster just now given of some of those enemies strongly suggests that the work of the Church must be (in a proper sense of the word) increasingly *political*. So also, of course, the work of the ministry. For the ministry is historically and logically the leader of the Church. First the ministry, then the Church. This is the divine order. To his apostles the Lord said, "Go ye, disciple all nations."

It is indeed a great glory of the world's Redeemer that he was "the discoverer of the individual man." Before He revealed man to Himself and to His fellow man the individual existed chiefly for the State. Man as man was insignificant; history concerned itself with man as strong, brilliant, victorious, great. One man, the plague and curse of the world, might grind millions under his chariot wheels on his bloody track to the imperial purple, and then be apotheosized. It was a radically new view of humanity which revealed the King of All Worlds as having "tasted death for every man," a view which immensely levelled up the lowest of men.

The Man of Nazareth is, however, not only the Friend of

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Man, the brother of the most abject, the helper of the individual to bear his burdens and rise step by step, and the atoning sacrifice for each lost soul. He is also "the King of kings and Lord of lords." He came to set up a kingdom which is to permeate, subjugate and dominate all the governments of the whole earth. Prophecy abounds in representations of him as "A Man of War." He is the sworn foe of all unrighteousness in governments. He is to "have dominion from sea to sea." "All kings shall fall down before Him; all nations shall serve Him." It would have been strange, indeed, if in this world-subjugating war the lieutenants had not been called to imitate their Leader. He was the supreme model of indignant rebuke of sin in high places. Human speech reached its climax of invective and excoriation on His holy lips. It was to eminently respectable rulers that He said: "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?" It was in sending a message to a king that He said, "Go tell that fox." Ages before His visible appearance He inspired His prophets to intermeddle in politics. A divine alarum sounded in their ears: "Cry aloud, spare not." Many a time they were specially commissioned to charge kings face to face, and also whole communities, with high-handed rebellion against God.

We are thus led to one of the chief functions of the Christian ministry; it must incarnate and voice the best conscience of the age, not shrinking when the sins to be denounced are intrenched behind political barricades; nay, holding up the sins of rulers to the most merciless rebuke because of their far-reaching and signally destructive influence. The duty of a minister to defend truth and justice is not at all mollified but rather intensified by the circumstance that the awful form of a resistless tyrant confronts him, or that sundry millions of his fellow-creatures are induced by demagogues to try to make evil good by their ballots. An inward voice from which there is no appeal requires him to "obey God rather than men," and to persuade all he can to join him in such obedience. The smile of God is mightier than the tyrant's frown. History furnishes inspiring examples; such as Elijah before Ahab, John the Baptist before Herod, Ignatius before Trajan, Ambrose before Theodosius, Luther before Charles V. Creasy writes of "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World:" these duels did more for freedom and for man than

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some of those battles. The world has seen many a crisis—hours in which the great want of a nation, a cause, or an idea has been a clarion voice to crystallize and vitalize the best thought and purpose of the age. Such a voice can proceed only from a man with the eye of a seer and the heart of a Hebrew prophet, a man living fifty years ahead of his time and fearing God only.

In view of such incontestable principles and of the conspicuous examples by which they have been illustrated in every age, it is strange, indeed, how widespread and persistent the notion is that politics and religion may of right be entirely dissevered from each other,—that they necessarily occupy different territories of human thought and life. "Do you suppose I mingle my religion with my politics?" replied a man of standing in his church to a gentleman who had taken him to task for political conduct, inconsistent with his religious profession. Especially has it been held that the Christian ministry should be blandly blind to the strifes of political parties, and that the pulpit should reserve all the vials of its wrath for the sins of the Patagonians. Political papers have solemnly warned the ministry to "preach the gospel" and to "let politics alone."

No doubt it is wise for a minister to be every man's friend, so far as he can be, with no least sacrifice of principle. It is his duty like Paul to become "all things to all men, so that by all means he may save some." He must at times sacrifice taste, preference, ease, convenience—anything but conscience, to do men good. He is most unwise if he bar his way to usefulness by turning his pulpit into a political hustings. The mere contests of party politics, which involve no grave moral issues, have no place there. Above all it is not his function to attempt to direct, from that throne of influence, the party affiliations of his people. That is a question for the individual himself. No man and no organization may invade the sacred realm of private judgment. Far distant be the day, in this free republic, when any hierarchy shall undertake to deliver votes by the ten thousand. No church could possibly assume a prerogative more hateful and menacing to our most cherished institutions. The sentiment of the Protestant churches in general is correctly voiced by the utterance on this subject made by the Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church last May to the quadrennial General Conference of the Church assembled in Omaha.

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"With regard to politics, the attitude of our Church is strenuously non-partisan and non-sectional. It acknowledges no allegiance to any political creed or association. It urges all its members who have the right to vote to discharge that duty, but it leaves every voter absolutely free from ecclesiastical interference to determine for himself for whom his ballot shall be cast. The right of suffrage, or the franchise, we regard as a great and responsible trust, which should in all cases, ecclesiastical and civil, be exercised conscientiously, but in absolute personal freedom."

The high duty previously set forth of moral censorship of political measures and of individual rebuke of wicked rulers may seem at a glance inconsistent with this strenuous assertion of personal political independence. It does not appear so to the Church of which I have just spoken. For many years that Church, with fifteen thousand ministers and over two million members, has flung to the breeze a banner inscribed "Total Abstinence and Legal Prohibition." In the same episcopal address above quoted its bishops say:

"We hold with unabated tenacity to the oft-repeated statement that total abstinence is the only safety for the individual, and that complete legal prohibition of the traffic is the urgent duty of the State. We rejoice in every step of progress towards the attainment of these ends. In our judgment the saloon is an unmixed evil, full of diabolism, a disgrace to our civilization, the chief corrupter of political action, and a continued menace to the order of society and to the peace and purity of our homes. We exhort all our people to encourage every repression and limitation of the business, and to keep a steady eye to its total extirpation."

And its General Conference, its only law-making body, declared, "We do not presume to dictate the political conduct of our people, but we do record our deliberate judgment that no political party has a right to expect, nor ought it to receive, the support of Christian men so long as it stands committed to the license policy, or refuses to put itself on record in an attitude of open hostility to the saloon." This last declaration was also adopted, with slight verbal changes, by the recent General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

These well-considered deliverances of the picked ministers and laymen of two of the most influential branches of the Church in America show the attitude they feel bound in conscience to hold towards an immense moral evil whose defenders perpetually thrust it into politics to be sanctioned and guarded, and which neither of the great political parties dares attack. Good men must hate it; the pulpit must thunder against it—all the more because so many politicians, finding it an inconvenient factor in

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their calculations about party successes, try to laugh it out of the way as a trifle; as, for example, Mr. Turpin, who is reported to have said in his place in Congress that the attitude of Iowa towards the drink traffic is a "transient fanaticism," "a local, temporary frenzy," and to have added, "with respect to this shadowy, thin, transparent, gauzy essence, or image of an essence, that is called 'the moral sentiment behind prohibitory legislation,' I do not believe that we have the denomination of coin made small enough to measure its value."

Half a century ago there was abroad in the country another "moral sentiment," very inconvenient to politicians, greatly derided but terribly persistent. For many a decade it had asserted itself sporadically, sometimes aimlessly, sometimes most unwisely; but it was rooted in conscience and it grew. Great statesmen decreed its destruction, great parties built adamant walls in the track of its progress; but statesmen and parties went down before its resistless march. It gave birth to Garrison and Phillips and John Brown, to "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and Whittier and Lowell, to Abraham Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation. The "impossible" became actual; slavery died. All this came from the growth of a "moral sentiment." One of the mightiest of the forces which helped to save, to free and to unify the nation was the aroused conscience of the Christian Church. That sublime awakening seemed to the early abolitionists guiltily slow and late. Wendell Phillips, with superb scorn, once said, at an old-time anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the Broadway Tabernacle, "The church! the church!—if all the churches on this continent had been sunk into the earth forty years ago, the cause of freedom would have been further forward." But that greater "man of the people," raised up from the ranks of the people to make possible the continued existence of "a government of the people by the people, for the people," knew where his strength lay; and, in the pinch of the nation's sorest need, said: "Blessed be God who in our great trial giveth us the churches." In those awful days many a pulpit resounded with such texts as this: "Prepare war, wake up the mighty men, beat your plow-shares into swords, and your pruning-hooks into spears." Myriads of the "boys in blue" went forth from Christian altars fortified by the benediction of godly pastors and inspired by the knowledge that they were

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remembered every Sabbath in the prayers of thousands of churches and every day in the supplications of millions of homes. The songs of the Sunday-school resounded beside many a camp-fire. Many a soldier felt the New Testament he carried to be either a shield against bullets or a key to heaven. "The brains behind the bayonets" have perhaps been glorified too much; the consciences behind the bayonets, too little. Ten righteous men might have saved Sodom; millions of righteous men with God's blessing did save America. The Church is the salt of the nations.

Republican institutions on this continent, where their past achievements have filled the world with admiring wonder, are now confronted and menaced by two great and growing evils, both of which require the presence of the pulpit in the political arena; the enormous and unblushing corruption of many of our municipal governments, and the frightful and widening chasm between the rich and the poor, or, rather, between manual laborers and their employers. Both these evils are largely augmented by the perpetual inflow of a vast immigration, which brings to our shores not only various elements of strength, but also the very scum and poisonous off-scouring of the seething civilizations of the old world—paupers, criminals, agnostics, nihilists and anarchists. To cope with these forces of evil the progress of society must henceforth be largely on political lines. Some recent events make us wonder how nearly right Horace Bushnell may have been in preaching a sermon on "Barbarism, the first danger." The individual cannot maintain his own rights. The attempt to do this was the fault of the Carnegie Company on that day of carnage at Homestead. The State must be the defender of the individual, and must provide the conditions for his best development. Yet Bellamyism is a delusion. The "paternal government" idea easily runs into visionary schemes which are totally impracticable and subversive of individual rights. The State must itself become righteous by the omnipresence and omnipotence of moral principle. How can it be expected that loafers, swindlers, whiskey-guzzlers, and public thieves should make or execute just laws? The mission of the gospel is to society; to senates, and parliaments as well as to individuals. "Public virtue" must become more than a meaningless phrase.

Municipal misgovernment has long had signal illustration

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in the metropolis of the country. New York is ruled by a society which is "not so much a political party as it is a corporation, organized in the interest of making the most possible out of its official opportunities." Many public officers elected by it have, with moderate salaries, quickly become millionaires. Now and then the outraged people, in some brief spasm of indignation, have hurled a Tweed into prison, or have obliged a Connolly to fly to the ends of the earth; have elected an honest mayor and secured a temporary reform in some one department. But a sewer is a filthy place; good men grow weary and declare "politics a dirty business;" the forces of plunder and vice rally, close ranks, and walk the deck again as though nothing had happened; and nothing much *has* happened.

What needs to happen is that all men who really want good government shall make themselves felt all the way from the primary to the ballot-box with a persistence like that of the law of gravitation. A keen student of politics says:

> "The doctrine that politics is the broadest, richest, and most important field of Christian endeavor will probably seem to many a startling proposition; but it is one on the truth of which the future, not only of republican government, but of Christian civilization, depends. Neither of these can be regarded as secure until it is accepted as a principle of Christian ethics that a man can no more stand idly by and see public evils prevail and expect to be held guiltless, than if he were a willing witness of his brother's murder. . . . The neglect of political duty by good men is the chief source of all suffering from misgovernment by bad men."

Pre-eminently is it the function of the church and of the pulpit in this age to mediate between capital and labor, and with ceaseless assiduity to fill in the awful chasm between wealth and poverty. The rapid accumulation of enormous wealth in the hands of a few, the fruit of the ill-requited toil of the many, and the grinding and soulless arrogance of some monopolies, which raise the price of the necessaries of life in order to multiply fortunes already colossal; and over against these the general, fomented, bitter and increasing discontent among the poor, are patent and alarming facts.

Beyond the sea these evils have existed longer and developed more fully; so we may wisely look there for helpful object lessons. Mr. Gladstone says that the total income of the United Kingdom has trebled in forty-nine years, that "the clutch and gripe of most possessors over their money is scarcely ever relaxed," and that

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their "incomes are swallowed up without compunction in the insatiable maw of their desires." Another English voice of equal authority declares that "the vaunted charities of England, when estimated by the certain wealth of England, are not the glory of our national generosity, but the most damning proof of the national meanness and national indifference." Set over against these facts General Booth's picture of "the submerged tenth" of the population of England, living below "the cab-horse standard" of work, food and shelter.

On this continent like causes are swiftly working out like results. Our nation's hope is in general education, the purification of politics, the destruction of the drink-traffic, wise legislation, and the absolute and omnipresent supremacy of law; and, above all, in the evangelization of the masses of the people. The Incomparable Teacher gave the one panacea for the ills of "all nations" in six words: "Preach the gospel to every creature."

Recent events justify a most emphatic final word of practical suggestion to all public teachers with tongue or pen, based on Chatham's great utterance, "Where law ends, tyranny begins." There is no tyranny so abominable as that of the riotous multitude. Better Nero than a mob. No amount of sincerest sympathy for the toiling masses should close our eyes to the majesty of the law and the sacredness of individual right. Murder is murder. Vipers from Europe are among us; they hiss and crawl and bite. "The America of Lincoln and of Garfield must learn to hate the misshapen broods of Atheism and Nihilism with a hatred deadlier even than that of the England of their fathers against Popery and Spain. Execrable was the Inquisition, but the Inqusition was holy compared to that raging hatred of God and man, that deification of lust and blood, which, adopting the enginery of devils, preaches the hell-born gospel of petroleum and of dynamite. The day has come when the nations must look this devil in the face."

CYRUS D. FOSS.

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WHAT CHOLERA COSTS COMMERCE.

BY ERASTUS WIMAN.

THE conviction seems painfully prevalent in many intelligent quarters that next year will witness cholera as an epidemic in the United States. The fear is entertained more as a supposition than as a positive thing, and if the expectation were universal it would make it none the more certain of fulfilment. Thus far no disease has yielded more readily than has cholera to preventive measures, and the control in the past few weeks which has so completely checked its introduction into this continent is a singular and comforting illustration of what is likely to occur in the future.

But the argument is urged that the germs of the dread disease will by next year be far more generally distributed in Europe than has yet been the case this year. The imagination runs away with the idea that these germs, still possessing the potentiality of disease, will imperceptibly find their way hither, in articles of merchandise, as in rags, hides, cloth, needlework, fine wools, toys, and especially in clothing, of all which there is constantly a large importation from the continent. The expectation that living particles of disease will last for months, imbedded in articles of merchandise, seems unreasonable. When it is recalled that cholera is not contagious, even such a possibility as the importation of live germs lessens the chances enormously, for as it is only infectious, it can only be prevalent where the greatest carelessness exists, even if introduced. As compared with what has occurred in New York harbor in the past few weeks, it would seem impossible to encounter greater danger, or to have a class of circumstances more adverse with which to cope. Yet through the exceedingly able administration of Dr. Jenkins, the State Health Officer, and his devoted staff of assistants, the dis-

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ease has been effectually stamped out, for the time being. Nothing worse may now be expected to occur than did occur in having, literally, thousands of the worst class of emigrants from infected ports confined to the narrowest quarters of a ship, in almost personal contact with hundreds of cabin passengers, with hardly a single case of cholera occurring among the latter. On the other hand, just so soon as the authorities got possession of the living cargoes of filthy humanity, among whom the disease was raging, the casualties were reduced to a minimum. Indeed the whole history of the noble struggle in the Lower Bay of New York, by the authorities, under the firm grasp of Dr. Jenkins, shows how effectually the dread disease can be stamped out, and ought to bring assurance that, so far as the future is concerned, there is little to fear.

But in order that the public mind may be aroused to the necessity of taking every possible precaution, it may be well to set forth briefly what might possibly be the consequences to the commerce of the country should cholera find a lodgement in any of the great cities, or become epidemic, as it once before did, in small towns. The actual ascertainable loss involved and the monetary disaster that would follow are so palpable and enormous that it would seem as if there was hardly any precaution which should not be taken by the authorities, either Federal, State or Municipal. Justification for the most extreme measures will be found in the contemplation of the magnitude of the disaster that would occur, if the business of the country were to be seriously interfered with, even by good ground for apprehension, apart from the actual existence of the disease in any considerable number of places.

Perhaps a measure of damage to the transportation interests of the country might be found in what has already occurred to the great line of steamships hailing from ports affected. It would be difficult to imagine a greater calamity than, for instance, has occurred to the Hamburg line of steamers, so splendidly equipped, and gaining so rapidly in favor by their ability, large investment, and magnificent craft. It is true that other lines have escaped the vast loss experienced by this special corporation, and that by the patronage of Americans intent upon reaching home, in order to escape the possibilities of cholera in Europe, the receipts have been fairly maintained thus far in the season. But beyond all question, the earning power of every steamship company for the

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balance of the year, and certainly for next year, from both sides, has been seriously affected. It will be no exaggeration to believe that the gross receipts of the European steamship companies will be cut down at least one-third from what they would be if normal conditions existed. Unless perhaps the tide of travel next year towards the Columbian Exhibition swells the income, the losses of the European lines will certainly reach the above estimate.

If the losses to the ocean-going lines are taken as a measure of the losses possible by cholera to the land transportation interests, should cholera become epidemic in the United States, some idea may be formed of the enormous disaster that would overtake the country. If, for instance, travel should lessen, say, twenty-five per cent., and the freight traffic diminish fifteen to twenty per cent., the railroads and steamship lines of the country would be most adversely affected. Yet such a contingency is not a remote one, if a universal fear took possession of the people. The desire to stay at home as the safest of places, the anxiety to avoid exposure and contact with others, the fear of change in water and in food prepared by strangers, would be universal, and it would be no exaggeration to believe that fully one-quarter of those who habitually travel would cease to do so. Indeed that proportion would be a small one to be thus affected, for the number of buyers, sellers, speculators and tourists that can suddenly cease to travel, is in far larger ratio to the travelling public than is generally supposed. As to the question of freight and expressage affected by the presence of cholera, the estimate must be extremely vague. But if speculation were paralyzed, as it would be, and shipments restricted to the actual necessities of life, it will be at once realized how enormous the reduction in transportation would be.

If the receipts of transportation were to be cut down twenty-five per cent., a financial disaster would occur of the first magnitude. As a rule the surplus over operating expenses of average transportation facilities do not exceed twenty-five per cent., and it is with this surplus that interest, fixed charges and dividends are paid. If these were to stop, the extent of the calamity would be next to universal. Following this, however, would be the result that the entire monetary circles of the country would be most seriously affected. Not only would speculation be paralyzed and all new enterprises be checked, but even for the legitimate wants of business, the monetary accommodation would be wanting.

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The loss of confidence would restrict loans, lessen deposits, and generally contract the policy of every financial institution in the country. The result would be an almost total cessation of new purchases; and credit, that blessed hand-maid of commerce, would receive so severe a shock as to be for the moment almost beyond recovery. The results of this would be, that the earning power of banking institutions throughout the land would almost cease, and in connection with the investments in railroads and steamboat lines, there would be a cessation of revenue, almost universal, among the class dependent upon dividend returns. The income of capitalists would thus largely sink out of sight, and with this also the ability to buy and pay for the articles, the sale of which yields a profit for the great rank and file of retailers, who supply the wants of those whose incomes are steady and liberal. These retailers, in their turn, would be unable to pay their obligations, much less to make new purchases, and would be seriously embarrassed, their employees and their families all sharing in the general disaster.

It is true that the wants of the people would of necessity create a great exchange, and that production in manufacturing, agriculture and mining would go forward. But all these would of necessity be greatly restricted by the want of confidence, the lack of money and, the general limitation of demand that would unanimously prevail. Even in country localities, in small villages, made up of small stores, the group that includes the blacksmith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, the saddler, the cabinet maker, etc., would be affected, and the result would seem to be universal in the shape of adverse conditions, should the presence or the scare from cholera be prevalent.

As to the effect upon the great exhibition at Chicago, should there be present in this country even slight signs of cholera, its consequences, it will be readily seen, will be most damaging. The investment made in preparation, at Chicago itself, for this great event in the history of the new world, is sufficient to call for the most extraordinary measures for protection. But added to this is an enormous sum, in almost every part of the country, in the shape of expenditure for exhibits, while the preparation by the railroads and transportation lines, in anticipation of a great traffic, would swell the sum to enormous proportions. All this is at risk, in addition to the ordinary chances of loss, while the profit possi-

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ble to be realized and the advantage to be gained by the success of the Fair, which would be interfered with by cholera, is almost beyond estimate.

A survey, therefore, of all the interests likely to be affected, discloses a disaster of so great a magnitude as to call forth the very best possible efforts to prevent the introduction of cholera into the country. The events of the past few weeks in the harbor of New York, dramatic in their incidents, and so full of danger to the public welfare, will not have been in vain in the shape of an object lesson, if from that lesson be learned the absolute necessity for the most ample precaution, and the most liberal provision with which to avoid the approach of the pestilence. The justification for any measures, however extreme, seems to be found in these occurrences, equally with the possibilities that would flow from the introduction of the disease into this country. Perhaps no event could occur which would more vividly illustrate the necessity for a reform in the matter of immigration. The steady stream of humanity which has set in the direction of these shores has of late years perceptibly declined in desirability, increased in danger, and lessened in its claims to consideration. If it were decided by Congress that no more immigration should be permitted within the next twelve months, the action would seem to be almost justified by the danger that is incurred. The country would in a certain sense be the loser to the extent of the many millions which immigration is supposed to be worth. But, on the other hand, it would be the gainer by permitting its own people to do the work at remunerative prices, which these immigrants now do at starvation figures. The safety in the matter of health would be enormously promoted by the total cessation of immigration, though a step so radical could hardly be advocated. Nevertheless, the country at large would approve of a policy so sweeping as to effectually protect the health of the whole body, by ceasing to expose it to these foreign introductions.

It will not be necessary, however, to go to such an extent; but most thorough and exhaustive methods should be adopted in ports of departure for cleanliness and selection of immigration, and the heartiest coöperation of the various transportation companies should be obtained, by force if necessary, to limit the arrivals, not only to those who are desirable, but of those whose health, cleanliness, and antecedents are ascertained.

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Precautions of an extraordinary nature should also be taken as to importations, and consular certificates should only be granted to well-established firms, which should be held responsible for the character of the goods shipped. It may be difficult to amplify and enforce rigid regulations of this character, but as will be seen by the extent of the disaster which threatens, and the enormous loss that might follow, there is hardly any precaution which could be taken by legislation or governmental interference which should not be made available during the coming year. There is happily less to fear, with watchfulness on all sides, than ever before. It is believed that there are numerous diseases in the country that are far more dangerous than cholera, yet the country survives these, and if but the same watchfulness and carefulness is exercised by the authorities of every municipality, every State, and the nation at large, the United States continue as free from this dreaded disease as it has hitherto been.

ERASTUS WIMAN.

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THE DEMOCRATIC OUTLOOK.

BY THE HON. W. F. HARRITY, CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

ANY prediction as to the result of a Presidential election, made a month in advance of the day of decision, is unsatisfactory, for it necessarily excludes the possible and unforeseen contingencies of the interim, as well as the results of efficient organization. Elections have been lost and won in much less time. This is especially true of our country; for not only has it the largest electorate of any popular government, but its voters, who will this year exceed 12,000,000 in number, are more evenly divided than those of other countries. It will, therefore, require a very small percentage of change to convert a minority into a majority.

Thus, since 1876, no candidate for the Presidency has polled a majority of the votes, notwithstanding the absence of any considerable third party. The pluralities have been small. In 1880, Garfield had 7,018; Cleveland in 1884, 62,683, and in 1888, 98,017.

Another fact that increases the difficulty of successful prediction is that our great increase of voters is not wholly due to the natural increase of population, owing to the disproportion of births to deaths; but is also caused by extensive immigration, made up of many thousand men of different nationalities, races, and political prepossessions.

It is true that an approximate estimate of results is somewhat simplified by our electoral system, which, in preceding elections, has caused the final decision to depend upon the voice of not more than five States. Thoughtful men, however, will concur in the opinion that this is less true of the present election than heretofore. The number of debatable States has increased, and

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west, as well as east, of the Mississippi the storm centres will be found.

To these considerations, which make present prediction exceptionally conjectural and uncertain, must be added the further fact that we are living in a period of political transition. The epoch of the war and reconstruction, with its intense feelings and rooted convictions, has passed away. New leaders and new issues are the significant signs of the change. The latter are economic rather than emotional; and voters are less settled in conviction, and therefore less demonstrative in opinion.

The present calm, amounting to seeming apathy, which has marked the opening of the campaign on both sides, must not be quickly construed as due entirely to indifference to the result. It rather means that, in the present era of good feeling, the voter is requiring more time for judgment; and that deliberation, rather than emotional excitement, will determine his final course. As a result, there are fewer brass bands and banner-raisings than in previous campaigns.

Premising this much, I am of opinion that the present prospects are very favorable to the Democratic party. We, to whom the management of the campaign has been intrusted, have, after due and careful consideration, every reason for confidence in a favorable result. Some of these reasons could not be stated without unduly anticipating the plan of the campaign and unnecessarily disclosing its details. In good time these will appear, and will, we think, amply vindicate the confidence we feel. There are other reasons, however, which may be briefly stated.

The first and most obvious is the result of such preceding elections as have enabled the people to pass judgment on Mr. Harrison's administration. When we reason from them, we do so from hard and inexorable facts. All other expressions of public thought are open to the possibility of misconstruction; but here are the final and decisive opinions of the people on given issues, expressed in the one method known to our institutions, namely, through the ballot-box. The logic of results admits of little escape, and the value of preceding elections in enabling us to estimate future results is increased by their frequency. In England, where the elections are held at irregular and often long intervals, the previous general elections are less important; but in this country, where the people meet annually, and on a stated day and

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by a fixed political habit, to impress their wishes on their servants, the off-year elections are important and afford evidence of a certain continuity and coherency of public thought.

The first election at which the people had an opportunity to express their opinion as to the Harrison administration was in 1889. It had, at that time, come so recently into existence that the verdict then pronounced may be less significant than that of the succeeding year, 1890, when the policy of the "mailed hand" had been more openly displayed; nevertheless, the reactionary movement had commenced, and it is clear that the people were no longer satisfied with the administration. Of the politically important States, Massachusetts and Nebraska showed heavy Republican losses and corresponding Democratic gains in 1889: while Iowa, Montana, New York, Ohio and Rhode Island reversed their verdicts of the preceding year by giving substantial Democratic pluralities.

As compared to the storm which was to follow, the result of 1889 might be likened to "the cloud no bigger than a man's hand"; but, comparisons aside, it was a "vote of want of confidence" whose emphasis could not be mistaken.

Before the people had again met at the polls, the Fifty-first Congress had commenced its deliberations, if Mr. Reed will permit the use of the term. The McKinley Bill had received the President's signature; the Force Bill, with its revolutionary changes in the vital matter of our elections, had passed the House; and the Treasury, which Mr. Cleveland had left full to overflowing, had been emptied. These were briefly the issues upon which the two great parties went to the people. The result was the most emphatic condemnation of Republican men and measures that this generation has witnessed. Passing by the vote on State officers, the results of which are sometimes attributable to local and temporary causes, that for members of the House of Representatives can be safely taken as a true index to the condition of public thought. The total Democratic vote was 5,083,298, and the total Republican vote 4,282,922, thus giving the unprecedented Democratic majority of 800,376. The combined anti-Republican vote was 5,615,124, thus exceeding the Republican vote by 1,332,202. The Republican majority of 24 in the House was converted into the Democratic majority of 147.

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It cannot be claimed that this astonishing result was due to a light vote or was the result of an off year. The elections of 1889 and 1891 might be open to such criticism; but the election midway between the Presidential struggles has invariably been highly significant of the latter's result.

Thus, the year 1874 witnessed a real Democratic tidal wave, only to be followed in 1876 by a result which, whatever one's opinion may be as to the merits of the electoral controversy, was a virtual Democratic victory. The Republicans were generally successful in the elections of 1878, and elected Garfield in 1880. Those of 1882 favored the Democratic party, and were prophetic of the result in 1884. The Democratic defeat in 1888 was logically preceded by one in 1886.

If, therefore, any deduction can be safely made from the experience of the past, it is that the phenomenal Democratic victory of 1890, flanked as it was by similar triumphs in 1889 and 1891, points to Mr. Cleveland's election in 1892.

To show the steady trend of public thought, the following table of pluralities in the States which are politically important is appended, the vote of 1888 being that for President:

	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.
Alabama	61,123 D.	.....	97,470 D.	.....
Colorado	13,207 R.	.....	8,382 R.	10,956 R.
Illinois	22,195 R.	.....	9,847 D.	.....
Indiana	2,348 R.	.....	19,579 D.	.....
Iowa	31,711 R.	6,523 D.	3,336 R.	8,216 D.
Kansas	80,159 R.	.....	8,053 R.	.....
Massachusetts	32,037 R.	6,775 R.	9,053 D.	6,467 D.
Michigan	22,923 R.	33,471 R.	11,520 D.	4,940 R.
Minnesota	38,106 R.	.....	2,267 R.	.....
Montana	5,126 R.	556 D.	283 D.	.....
Nebraska	27,873 R.	19,028 R.	1,144 D.	3,136 R.
Nevada	1,903 R.	.....	810 R.	.....
New Hampshire	2,342 R.	.....	93 R.	.....
New Jersey	7,149 D.	.....	14,253 D.	.....
New York	13,002 R.	20,527 D.	.....	47,937 D.
North Carolina	13,118 D.	.....	43,329 D.	.....
Ohio	19,599 R.	10,872 D.	10,970 R.	21,511 R.
Oregon	6,769 R.	.....	5,151 D.	.....
Rhode Island	4,438 R.	4,419 D.	1,560 D.	1,254 D.
West Virginia	506 D.	.....	8,337 D.	.....
Wisconsin	21,321 R.	.....	28,320 D.	.....

It will be noticed that the Democratic party has not only held all the States which it carried in 1888, but has largely increased its majorities. The Republican party, on the contrary, gained in but one State over 1888, that of Ohio; in all others their majorities in that year have been not only lessened materially, but have disappeared altogether in the important States of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Montana, New York, Rhode Island, and

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Wisconsin, which have since given Democratic pluralities,—Iowa, New York, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts on two successive occasions.

Nor have the preliminary elections of 1892 been less encouraging to the Democracy. In Alabama it triumphed over the combined votes of the opposition parties; in Arkansas it substantially increased its majority; and in Oregon decreased the Republican plurality. The elections in Maine aud Vermont are of too recent occurrence to need any extended reference here. They were signs of the times which the wayfarer could not miss. The Administration, realizing that each State had been, in past years, a most significant index to public thought, put forth extraordinary exertions to increase their majorities. Vermont, with one of its foremost Republicans in the cabinet, with a press almost wholly in its favor, and with prominent party men from other States appealing to its voters to give their party throughout the country the prestige of an increased vote, yet gives the smallest Republican majority since 1872. The vote, as compared with that of 1888, is as follows :

Governor, 1888.		*Governor*, 1892.	
Republican	48,522	Republican	39,190
Democratic	19,527	Democratic	19,526

A Democratic loss of one vote and a Republican loss of 9,332 can only mean, either that the Republican party is taking but little interest in the election, while the Democratic party is fully alive to its importance, or that a considerable number of the former voted the ticket of the latter. Either construction is favorable to the Democracy.

The vote in Maine, similarly compared, is:

Governor, 1888.		*Governor*, 1892.	
Republican	73,405	Republican	67,850
Democratic	61,347	Democratic	55,348

Here the party in power lost almost twice as many votes as its opponents.

No satisfactory explanation can be given of these figures that will give encouragement to the Republican party. To accuse its voters of being too "sensitive" or "timid" to vote under the Australian ballot system is hardly complimentary to their intelligence. To assume, on their part, a greater lack of interest in the coming election than that of the minority party, is to concede Mr. Cleveland's election.

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The result of the elections which have just been held in Florida and Georgia still further emphasize the truth of the statement that the drift of sentiment is strongly towards the Democratic party.

The "vote of want of confidence," therefore, which Mr. Harrison says the Democratic party is now asking on his administration has already, and with unmistakable emphasis, been given in six successive elections. The issues have not changed. The McKinley Bill is still a law, without a suggestion from the Republican platform or its candidate's letter of acceptance that its burdens will be lightened. The Force Bill, while ignored in the letter, is yet demanded by the platform, and, like Banquo's ghost, "will not down." And the Treasury is as empty as Mr. Reed's Congress left it.

To say that the people are so variable as to approve in 1892 that which they signally condemned in 1889, 1890, and 1891 is to reflect upon their capacity for self-government. The Democracy has obtained a verdict in its action of ejectment, and is now asking that the consequent judgment of ouster should follow.

These figures are but eloquent of a change in public thought, of which other evidence might be multiplied. The Republicans who left their party in 1884 did so only temporarily and on personal grounds. When, however, Mr. Cleveland had dispelled the fear that the Democratic party could not be safely intrusted with power and had challenged the sober thought and conscience of his countrymen in the famous message of December, 1887, a new alignment of parties commenced, and many of the leading spirits of the Republican party in its earlier days joined hands with the Democracy in the great work of commercial emancipation. The change to the Democracy of such men as Carl Schurz, Wayne MacVeagh and Walter Q. Gresham affords one evidence of this; just as the course of the newspaper press (which, as Mr. Clarkson publicly lamented, is now throwing its greater influence in favor of the Democratic party) is another.

It is likewise a matter of common observation that a majority of the first voters are now giving their youthful zeal and robust strength to the party of tariff reform, as that most in sympathy with the ultimate commercial destiny of our country and most responsive to its highest needs.

Indeed, the campaign of education has not been without its re-

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sults among any class. The manufacturer, whose raw materials are taxed and markets restricted; the laboring man, who has felt the purchasing power of his wages decreased by unnecessary taxation without a commensurate increase in its nominal amount, and the neglected consumer, have all given Mr. Cleveland's appeal for conservative revision a sober second thought since 1888.

There are other considerations, some of a temporary and exceptional character, which add to the probability of a coming Democratic victory. To a few of these allusion will be briefly made:

1. In 1888, the Democracy not only labored under the necessity of conducting a campaign of education on a long-neglected issue, but it was compelled to defend a general tariff bill, which, however, wise and salutary, yet, for good or ill, affected a variety of industries. This made the work of explanation and justification correspondingly difficult and complicated. We labor under neither disadvantage now. The opposition must defend the many schedules of the McKinley law, as we did the Mills Bill. Then, too, we in 1888 fought to a successful issue the elementary principles of the tariff question. That our country needs wider markets; that the tariff is a tax, and is paid by the domestic consumer; that the cheapening of commodities is desirable, for example, are questions no longer seriously disputed, as Mr. Harrison's letter of acceptance will amply show. They were seriously controverted in 1888, but are now abandoned. The present calm on the surface of politics indicates nothing more strongly than that the tariff scare is over, and that the spectre of free trade, like the bloody shirt, is relegated to "innocuous desuetude." It frightens no one in 1892 as it did in 1888.

2. The Democracy is not handicapped by the disappointments arising from the distribution of federal patronage, as it was in 1888; while, on the contrary, President Harrison's administration must face, in every township, village, and city, the lack of interest and at times open hostility arising from pleasing one man, to the bitter disappointment of other loyal partisans. To a party that has been so long in power that the irritation and jealousies arising from the original distribution of patronage has ceased the possession of government is an advantage; but this is as little true of Mr. Harrison in 1892 as it was of Mr. Cleveland in 1888.

3. The Democratic situation in New York is not complicated

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in 1892 as it was in 1888 by the mutual and unfortunate misunderstandings that arise from the divided effort of electing a President and a Governor at the same election. The bitterness to which this supposed conflict of interests gave rise has disappeared, and Mr. Harrison must face this year a united Democracy in the great pivotal State. If other assurance were needed of unity in purpose of all interests than Senator Hill's able, admirable and cordial speeches in Brooklyn and Buffalo, it will be found in the fact that every organization of the party, in and out of New York city, is working in entire harmony and will keep step to the onward march of Tariff Reform.

4. It is believed that the Republican party has not and cannot now command the vast sums of money which it used with such efficacy in the last Presidential election. Assuming that it has an abundance of money, it can no longer with safety concentrate its forces as in 1888. The field of battle is much broader, and cannot be safely narrowed. Since the elections of 1889, 1890, and 1891, the sneer of "rainbow chasing" has lost its force. The pot of gold was found in the magnificent results achieved in States east and west of the Mississippi, which had heretofore been safely Republican. The Republican party can abandon especial effort in the States of Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Nevada, and South Dakota, in the West, and in the States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, in the East, only at great and obvious peril. Even with extraordinary effort on their part, the Democracy has good reason for expecting favorable results in more than one of these States, although such hope will not induce the Democratic leaders to relax a single effort in the States generally regarded as pivotal. We do not need the electoral votes of the States just mentioned, and are, therefore, not under the disadvantage under which the party in power labors of being compelled to weaken its forces by dissipating them over a vast area of debatable ground.

5. In the States commonly regarded as destined to be decisive, namely, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Indiana, we fight from the vantage-ground of having won the intermediate elections since 1888 by increasing pluralities.

6. The assured votes which Michigan, under her law of district representation, will give us should not be overlooked; nor

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the possibility that the States of Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada, Colorado and South Dakota may cast their electoral votes in whole or in part for Mr. Weaver, by reason of the fusion of parties in these States.

7. The Australian ballot system has very generally come into operation since the last election for President, and it is not disputed that, wherever adopted, its results have been beneficial to the Democracy. The intimidation of employees, upon which the Republican party has placed great reliance, can no longer be successfully practised.

8. Finally, Mr. Cleveland's great popularity is a tower of strength for his cause. The people have generally indorsed Mr. Depew's tribute to him as the "typical American." He is stronger with the masses to-day, out of power, than when he was President. His former defeat, suffered through manly adherence to principle, has only served to endear him with many, who prefer courage to time-serving and honor to mere expediency. Despite his many estimable traits of head and heart, and the general respect in which Mr. Harrison is held, it can hardly be said that he occupies an equal place with Mr. Cleveland in the affections of the people.

For these reasons, among others, while not underestimating the power, vigor, untiring energy, and extensive resources of the opposition, and fully appreciating that the battle is not won until the last vote is counted (and sometimes, as in 1876, not even then), I am of opinion that the next President will be a Democrat.

W. F. HARRITY.

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WASTE PRODUCTS MADE USEFUL.

BY THE RIGHT HON. LORD PLAYFAIR, F. R. S., LL. D.

As KNOWLEDGE progresses, man discovers new uses for the most common objects, and learns that, though bodies may undergo many transformations, each one has its destined utility. Nature is most economical of material, and does not admit the idea that any substance can become useless. The waste matter of animals during their lives and their own bodies after death become transformed into the food of plants and constitute the basis for new generations of living beings. We know also that the very dust blown by winds from place to place has its use in the atmosphere, because, through its agency, clouds and rains are produced, as well as the glorious colors of the sky.

As nature does not admit the idea of waste matter, man, when under the guidance of knowledge, should not be inclined to deem anything as a waste product. It may be unused, because he has not learned how to apply it to a useful purpose, but the time arrives when it will be converted into a practical utility. The whole history of manufactures is a commentary on this text. The refuse of the produce of to-day may possibly become the chief source of profit to-morrow. Scarcely a single article of use or ornament, after it has served its first purpose, is not used over again for another service, perhaps in a new and distinct form, or in composition with other materials. Manufacturing industry loves to work up odds and ends and even the human refuse of our shops and homes. But these applications require a thorough knowledge of the objects to be converted into new utilities.

In the seventeenth century the illustrious Boyle wrote an essay entitled, "Man's great ignorance of the uses of Natural Things; or, that there is no one thing in Nature whereof the uses to Human Life are yet thoroughly understood." This truth of the seventeenth century is equally true as we approach the

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twentieth. Those who have read my articles upon air and water will recollect how slowly our knowledge accumulated in regard to these most familiar objects, and will be convinced how much remains for us in the future progress of knowledge before we or our descendants can say with truth that we really know everything about the most familiar things under our constant observation.

Lord Palmerston is credited with having invented the happy definition that "dirt is merely matter in a wrong place." It is difficult to say who is the real author of a popular apothegm. I once, in a fit of idleness, tried to trace the author of the saying that a blunt, plain speaker "calls a spade a spade." I did not succeed in finding the original author, but I found it used as a well-known proverb by Philip of Macedonia, the father of Alexander the Great. This is a parenthesis, so we may give Lord Palmerston the credit for the excellent definition of dirt, until some of my readers trace it further back. The object of this article is to show that, as science advances, it sweeps up dirt from the wrong place and deposits it in the right place.

The first illustration is the common lucifer match for producing instantaneous light or flame. This is now such an essential comfort and even necessity of our daily life that it may be difficult for some to believe it was unknown in my youth, for it was only introduced in 1833. We should remember the difficult and laborious processes employed by the ancients to obtain light and how careful they were to preserve the sacred fire when it had been procured. As the world grew older the fire-making processes were slowly improved. The *Pyxidicula Ignaria* of the Romans was probably a rude kind of tinder-box, though not in its more modern form of flint, steel, tinder and a sulphur match such as I used in my early days. It was indeed used in much the same form in the middle ages, for Philip the Good, 1429, carried the tinder-box upon the collar of the Golden Fleece, as showing to what an advanced stage of science his generation had reached. It is indeed surprising that phosphorus matches were so slowly discovered, for the element of phosphorous had been described by an Arabian called Bechel in the eighth century, though it was forgotten, and had to be rediscovered by Brandt in 1669. Both of them got it out of liquid human refuse, after it had been changed by keeping. Subsequently a cheaper and less repulsive raw material was found in old bones, which are rich in phosphate of lime; now the skeletons of

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carcasses are chiefly used for the preparation of lucifer matches. Though phosphorus was known and its remarkable properties had become familiar, it was not till 1833 that the first phosphorus friction match was invented, I remember my own extreme joy when the phosphorus match was first invented. Intolerably bad the first matches were, dangerously inflammable, horribly poisonous to the makers and injurious to the lungs of the users. It was not till 1845 that my friend Schröter, of Vienna, showed that by heating phosphorus in an oil bath it became converted into the form of red brick, which was an allotropic condition of the element which did not poison the makers of matches and was much less inflammable than ordinary phosphorus.

What a wonderful change has been produced in all our habits by the ready means of obtaining light out of the material formerly extracted from human effete matter, and now from old bones! Before its application to matches it is calculated that every man, woman and child spent ninety hours yearly in getting light and fire, or rather that they would have done so if they had used such means as freely as we do now. At present the consumption of phosphorus matches per head of the population amounts to eight daily, and as each match consumes fifteen seconds in its use two minutes are spent for the whole day, or twelve hours for the year. If we calculate the economy of time to the population of the United States by this simple invention, each person saves seventy-eight hours yearly; or, say, ten working days, which, represented in labor, cost at half a dollar per day for the sixty-two millions of the population in the United States, gives an aggregate economy of three hundred and ten million dollars yearly.

Originally, phosphorus was made from liquid effete matter of human beings, and, unhappily, that is treated to a great extent as waste even now, for it is allowed to run into the sea by the drains. Yet every pound of it, if properly applied in agriculture, is capable of producing a pound of wheat. Victor Hugo, who early wrote on such subjects, was moved to an indignant protest in "Les Miserables:"

"Science, after long experiment, now knows that the most effective of manures is that of man. The Chinese, we must say to our shame, knew it before us. No Chinese peasant, Eckberg tells us, goes to the city without carrying back, at the two ends of his bamboo, two buckets full of what we call filth. Thanks to human fertilization, the earth in China is still as young as in the days of Abraham. Chinese wheat yields one hundred and

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fifty fold. To employ the city to enrich the plain would be a sure success. If our gold is filth, on the other hand our filth is gold. What is done with this filth which is gold? It is swept into the abyss."

The agriculture of the United States is an industry great in its extent, but it is probably the most thriftless industry in existence. English agriculture is bad enough, but it produces on an average from thirty to forty bushels of wheat per acre. But the farmers of the United States produce an average of only twelve bushels per acre. This arises from the temptation to seek new land when the old farms have become unproductive from a wasteful system of agriculture.

In the year 1842 I had the pleasure to accompany the illustrious German chemist, Baron Liebig, in a tour through Great Britain. On one of our excursions, my friend, the eminent geologist, Dr. Buckland, joined us, and he took us to see some curious concretions in rocks of Tertiary formations. Buckland had for some time suspected that these stone nodules really were the fossils of the dung of ancient Saurian reptiles, which dwelt on the earth long before man's appearance upon it. As a proof, he showed that the concretions had a spiral twisting like that seen in the exuviæ of living fishes. Liebig suggested that it would be a better proof of fossil dung if chemical analysis showed that it was rich in phosphates. I sent a portion of it to my laboratory, and Liebig's belief was confirmed, as all the concretions were rich in bone earth. The name *coprolite* was given to this fossil dung (*kopros*, dung, and *lithos*, a stone). The publication of this discovery led to the establishment of extensive industries for the preparation of superphosphates as manure, although now the use of coprolites is being superseded by the discovery of mineral phosphates in rocks. Besides its use as manure, human refuse is still largely employed in making ammonia and its salts, which are largely used in the industrial arts, in agriculture, and in medicine. Originally, *sal ammoniac* was prepared from the soot of the burnt sacrifices at the temple of Jupiter Ammon, from which the word ammonia is derived. At a later period it was obtained from camel's dung, and then for many centuries out of human refuse. It is even now made from that, for two thousand two hundred tons are taken daily out of the cesspools of Paris to be converted into ammonia. Luckily the Parisian ladies, when they use their scent bottles, little suspect the origin of the pungent odor.

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Ammonia is, however, made on a more extensive scale from the refuse of gas works. The users of Morocco leather little suspect that the goat skins converted into it have been liberally treated with the sweepings of dog kennels.

Many kinds of waste materials of certain manufactures are employed in new forms for other industries. Old rags are a familar instance of this change. Cotton and linen rags form the chief raw material for the paper maker. Even those, which a beggar would disdain to touch, are converted into the paper used to convey our sentiments of love and friendship. Baron Liebig endeavored to find some material, which, by its use among various nations, would form an index to their relative degree of civilization. He fixed upon soap as showing the cleanliness or filth common to the people. The average consumption of soap gave the scale of civilization. I am more inclined to consider that the competition for cotton and linen rags denotes a still better index, because it is a measure of the distribution of education and love for literature. I have no statistics since 1887, but in that year the proportion of paper used in different countries was 12 lbs. per head in the United Kingdom; 10 lbs. in the United States; 9 lbs. in Germany; 8 lbs. in France, and 4 lbs in Italy. The mother country and the United States are thus in the lead.

Woollen rags are more slowly converted into final products than those of cotton and linen, because they are valuable for intermediate uses. Before they are run to earth they do duty for many forms of cheap clothing. In the United Kingdom Batley, Dewsbury and Leeds are the grand markets for woollen rags, though the United States are running us in close competition. The greasy, frowsy cast-off clothes of Europe reappear in pilot cloths, Petershams, beavers, Talmas, Chesterfields and Mohairs, which modern dandies wear when they consult economy as well as their outward appearance. Shoddy and mungo, the resurrection raw material of greasy beggars, mixed with a varying amount of true wool, is supposed to constitute about one-third of the woollen manufactures. This raw material for adulteration is, however, only made from rags which have already served higher purposes before this tertiary use. When woollen rags still adhere together they first go through the hands of various artists, who are named "clobberers," "revivers," and "translators." The function of the clobberer is to patch up torn garments and restore them to

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their pristine appearance. The reviver rejuvenates seedy black coats, and sells them to customers seeking for cheap garments. The translator is an artist of a higher order, for he transforms the skirts of old coats into waistcoats and tunics for children. When black coats are too far gone to be clobbered or revived, they are sent to various countries to be made into caps, France, Russia, and Poland requiring them in large quantity. The worn-out red tunics of British soldiers almost exclusively go to Holland to cover the chests of sturdy Dutchmen, who conceive them to be a protection against rheumatism. Uniforms of a better description, whether military or liveries, chiefly go to Africa for the wear of kings and chiefs. It is only after these transformations that the rags are torn down into shoddy and mungo for inferior cloths.

When old woollen rags have reached their fourth stage of degradation, so that they are unfit for the shoddy maker, they are still economically useful. They are then mixed with other degraded waste, such as shavings of hoofs and horns, and the blood of slaughter houses, and are melted in an iron pot with wood ashes and scrap iron. This process produces the material out of which the beautiful dye Prussian blue is made.

I fancy that I have convinced my readers, with perhaps some shock to their sentiment, that dirt is merely matter in a wrong place. When converted into an utility it is no longer dirt, for it has been purified. Manufacturers are only imitating Nature in these transformations. It may be disagreeable to sentiment, but it is strictly true, that our daily food contains the materials of previous generations of living animals, including the human race.

As to perfumes, there are some which are really oils and ethers extracted from flowers. There are others which are made artificially, and curiously, most frequently, out of bad-smelling compounds. The fusel-oil, separated out in the distillation of spirits, has a peculiarly nasty and sickening odor. It is used, after treatment with acids and oxidizing agents, to make the oil of apples and the oil of pears. Oil of grapes and oil of cognac are little more than fusel-oil largely diluted. Oil of pineapples, on the other hand, is best made by the action of putrid cheese on sugar, or by distilling rancid butter with alcohol and oil of vitriol. This oil is largely used for making pineapple ale. Many a fair forehead used to be damped with "Eau de Millefleurs" without knowing that its essential ingredient was got from the drainings

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of cow houses, though now it can be obtained cheaper from one of the constituents of gas tar. Out of the latter is got oil of bitter almonds, so largely used to perfume soap and confectionery.

This leads me to refer to gas tar, once the most inconvenient of waste materials. It could not be thrown away into rivers, for it polluted them foully. It could not be buried in the earth because it destroyed vegetation all around. In fact nothing could be done with it except to burn or to mix it with coal as a fuel. Gas tar, formerly the most useless of waste substances, is now the raw material for producing beautiful dyes, some of our most valued medicines, a saccharine substance three hundred times sweeter than sugar, and the best disinfectants for the destruction of germs of disease. Tar has become so prolific in useful industries that it would take a long article to describe them in detail, so I can only allude to a few of them. There are two substances in tar called naphthalene and anthracene. The former of these was a waste material, which choked gas pipes and was particularly obnoxious in gas works. Every ounce of it is now of value for the preparation of dye stuffs, as is also anthracene, a body which distils over when the tar oils have got a boiling point above 300°.

Perhaps the most important use is in the manufacture of alizarin, the coloring matter found in the root of the madder plant, so extensively used at one time in making Turkey reds and in calico printing. The discovery of its artificial preparation from the waste products of tar has destroyed a great agricultural industry which flourished in Turkey, Holland, Alsace, and other countries. Not only the red dye stuff alizarin, but also beautiful blue and purple dyes are made out of the same substances.

There is another product called aniline, which exists naturally in coal tar, but can also be made in large quantities out of another substance named benzine, after it has been acted on by nitric acid and then by iron filings. Aniline has become a most productive source of coloring matter, and many of its derivations are familarly known under the names of mauve, magenta, uraniline, and other dyes. They are too numerous to describe, but there is scarcely a shade of color which cannot be obtained from some of the products of tar. Large manufactories are in existence, some of which contain forty or fifty trained chemists engaged in superintending operations, or in making researches for new coloring materials. The whole of the great industries of

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dyeing and calico printing has been revolutionized by the new coloring matters obtained from the old waste material—gas tar. By a very interesting series of transformations one of the constituents of coal tar has been changed into the coloring matter of indigo. Hitherto the cost of production of artificial indigo has been too great to allow it to take the place of natural indigo, the cultivation of which is one of the staple industries of the East Indies. But its cultivators tremble lest they should find themselves in the position of the growers of madder by a cheap artificial production of indigo blue from coal tar.

I have noticed in American newspapers that many cases of arsenic poisoning have been observed in the United States, produced by dresses or articles of furniture. Coal tar colors are often made with arsenic, and the danger is not overrated.

When Bishop Berkeley wrote his famous treatise on tar water, claiming it as a universal medicine, curing all diseases, he little dreamt that the time would arrive when beautiful medicinal preparations would be made out of it.

As a fact, important narcotics and febrifuges have forced their way into medicine from this source, and are much valued by physicians. The most curious of the useful products of coal tar is saccharin, a substance so sweet that the sensation on the palate is disagreeable from its cloying persistency. A grain or two grains give the sweetness of one or two lumps of sugar, and it can be taken in food without producing the dyspeptic and gouty results which real sugar produces on some persons. Thus one of the most hopeless forms of waste matter—tar—has, by our better knowledge, become productive of great uses to mankind.

I shall content myself with only one further illustration.

Of all living things rats seem to be among the most repulsive; and when dead what can be their use? But even they are the subjects of production in the industrial arts. In Paris there is a pound surrounded by walls into which all dead carcasses are thrown. A large colony of rats has been introduced from the catacombs. The rats are most useful in clearing the flesh from the bones, leaving a clean-polished skeleton fitted for the makers of phosphorus. At the base of the wall numerous shallow holes are scooped out just sufficient to contain the body of the rats but not their tails. Every three months a great *battue* takes place, during which the terrified rats run into the holes. Persons go

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round and catching the extending tails, pitch the rats into bags, and they are killed at leisure. Then begins the manufacture. The fur is valuable and finds a ready sale. The skins make a superior glove—the *gant de rat*—and are especially used for the thumbs of kid gloves, because the skin of the rat is strong and elastic. The thigh-bones were formerly valued as tooth-picks for clubs, but are now out of fashion; while the tendons and bones are boiled up to make the gelatine wrappers for bon-bons.

Surely I have established my thesis that dirt is only matter in a wrong place.

Chemistry, like a thrifty housewife, economizes every scrap. The horseshoe nails dropped in the streets are carefully collected, and reappear as swords and guns. The main ingredient of the ink with which I now write was probably once the broken hoop of an old beer barrel. The chippings of the travelling tinker are mixed with the parings of horses' hoofs and the worst kinds of woollen rags, and these are worked up into an exquisite blue dye, which graces the dress of courtly dames. The dregs of port wine, carefully decanted by the toper, are taken in the morning as a seidlitz powder, to remove the effect of the debauch. The offal of the streets and the wastings of coal gas reappear carefully preserved in the lady's smelling bottle, or used by her to flavor blanc manges for her friends. All this thrift of material is an imitation of the economy of nature, which allows no waste. Everything has its destined place in the process of the universe, in which there is not a blade of grass or even a microbe too much, if we possessed the knowledge to apply them to their fitting purposes. Man aims at the acquisition of this knowledge, and, as we attain it, we are always rewarded by indirect though important benefits to the human race. It is neither necessary nor desirable that we should seek knowledge for the sake of utilities: our reward comes when we search for truth, because it is truth. If we try to use the rays of knowledge on account of their own inherent beauty, their reflection upon all things, animate and inanimate, show properties of matter which range themselves into utilities, almost without our perceiving the process, and teach us that there is nothing common or unclean to the laws of science.

LYON PLAYFAIR.

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HOW TO SOLVE THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

BY THE RT. REV. MONSIGNOR BERNARD O'REILLY.

THERE ought to be no quarrel between the Catholic Church in the United States and our Common School System. There is a misunderstanding; but this is easily cleared up, for where both parties are equally earnest and sincere in the patriotic purpose which prompts them to educate, and in the religious conviction that would have our youth trained up in the knowledge of Christianity and the practice of its noblest virtues, it is impossible that all grounds of misapprehension should not disappear.

American love of freedom, of freedom of conscience before and above all, is too deep and too honest to wish to enforce a law, or to support a system demonstrably hostile to the essentials of religious liberty. Our people have only to be shown that the law strikes at the dearest rights of the family, and confiscates to the profit of the State the most sacred and inalienable prerogatives of the parent, to conclude that such legislation can only be productive of evil, instead of promoting the public good.

It is my conviction, therefore, that there is not in the United States a citizen desirous at once of the progress of popular education, and of the spread of enlightened religious sentiment among the masses, who does not, in every essential respect, agree with the Catholic Church about the requisites of early education in the home and in the school.

Let an educational congress, representing every religious denomination among us, meet during two or three years in succession and discuss the necessity of permeating education with the light and warmth of religion. We should, ere the end of the third year's friendly discussion, see our way towards a satisfactory settlement of this controversy. Let them come together by common agreement and compare views fearlessly, like freemen who

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love the truth and court it, calmly, like men who have no selfish interests to gain, nothing but the common good and a generous brotherly feeling to promote. I have always admired the noble utterance of St. Augustine, that incomparable champion of the Christian religion. "For what end does truth triumph," he says, "if not to spread the reign of charity?" *Quid est victoria veritatis nisi Charitas?*

It would be a most blessed result of the timid suggestion thrown out in the pages of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, if such a congress or convention as is here hinted at were to meet next year in Chicago. The Columbian Exposition will afford a most favorable opportunity for such an assemblage of earnest, enlightened and representative men.

It is high time that the great body of the American people should clearly understand on what principles the Catholic church advocates a religious education for our youth. Hitherto our bishops and archbishops have abstained, as a body, from taking sides publicly in the school controversy. In the last National Council of Baltimore, held in November, 1884, admirable decrees and instructions were promulgated, and afterwards sanctioned by the Holy See, urging everywhere the erection and equipment of parish schools, dependent on their respective churches in each diocese. But, most generously though the Catholic congregations all over the land have responded to the call of their bishops, it is none the less true, as all fair-minded Protestants have more than once acknowledged, that it is an intolerable hardship and a grievous injustice to tax Catholic parents for the erection and maintenance of our common schools. The primary school, according to orthodox Catholic principle and practice, carries on for the child the work of instruction and education begun in the home; the whole atmosphere of the school must, therefore, be Christian, Catholic.

Religion openly, thoroughly taught, freely and heartily practised, is the basis of all true education, whether given within the bosom of the family or given in the school. This is a central principle from which the Catholic Church never can, never will depart. Where Catholic families form only a small minority, too poor to have a school of their own and to pay at the same time the school tax, necessity may compel them to have their children instructed in the public school. There it may happen that no

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religion whatever is taught, or that as little as possible of a religious character is given to the school exercises, or that this very little is tinged with anti-Catholic prejudice.

I need not say here that schools from which all religious teaching and influence is banished are hateful to Catholic parents. They only produce indifference to all religion, and turn out godless and unprincipled men and women. Of this result eminent clergymen and laymen of every creed have loudly and justly complained. Such an education as this is totally at variance with the American character and American institutions.

The question of free denominational education as opposed to State schools supported by public taxation, is now a great American question. The vital interests of the country demand that it should be examined and decided on American principles.

It is an historical fact that the public school system was introduced into the United States at the same time and for the same purpose that the national schools were imposed by law on Ireland. Archbishop Whately, who was the great advocate and champion of this latter system, declared,—as his sister testifies in his Life, —that the aim and hope of the founders were to "decatholicize" the youth of Ireland. It is equally notorious that the avowed object of the public school system in our country was to create a safeguard against the dangers,—as it was said,—with which the great influx of Irish immigrants threatened "the Religion of the Bible," American liberty, and American institutions.

This was a most impolitic movement, condemned by some of the most illustrious American statesmen, and openly at variance with true American principles.

Just think of it, for one moment. The natural tendency of the American mind and the American heart would or should have been to forget all differences of religion, while extending to these sorely-tried exiles from Ireland a generous and unanimous welcome. They had fought the battle of centuries against oppression. They were known for their enthusiastic devotion to the American Republic; and their own brothers, on land and sea, had gloriously upheld our flag.

These exiles had, for generations, been subjected in the land of their birth to intellectual starvation, as well as to constantly recurring famine. For generations it was felony in Ireland for the Catholic Celt to teach or to be taught. At the close of the

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eighteenth century and far into the middle of the next, the still oppressed remnants of that doubly famished race, ravenously hungered and thirsted for knowledge. When the writer of this article was born, the days of "Hedge-Schools" had passed, but the first most pregnant lessons received by him in early boyhood were given by a hedge-school master.

Well, when after 1830, the Irish immigrants began to pour into your free land, with love and gratitude in their hearts, and well-founded hope gilding all their prospects, had it not been good policy, genuine American policy, to welcome them warmly, to bid them drink their fill of liberty and of that knowledge for which they had so long thirsted in vain? Their fathers in ages long gone by had welcomed to Ireland yearly thousands of scholars from Great Britain, who were housed, fed, clothed, taught freely, lovingly, by this hospitable, warm-hearted, intellectual Celtic race.

But when these immigrants came to you and seated themselves by your mighty lakes and rivers; when fathers among them stretched out their hands and asked for the free bread of knowledge for their little ones,—what did they get?

You built schools antagonistic to the faith of the new-comers, and you taxed *them* for the erection and maintenance of these schools! And because we do not thankfully accept this boon, which we neither expected nor asked for, you say that we make war on American institutions, and are a danger to American freedom!

Frankly, is this American?

Now let me tell you what all true Americans think on this most important matter of education, and on what practical principles they would have this vexed question settled.

With them—no matter what the federal constitution may say or not say—Religion is the corner-stone, as well as the crown and pinnacle of our social edifice. Nothing is more abhorrent to our natural reverence for religion than families in our Christian community devoid of all religious belief and practice. We can never cease to believe that one of the most essential duties of the State or civil government, is to protect the family in its divine labor of rearing its children and forming them to all the duties and virtues of perfect manhood and womanhood. Perfect they cannot be without religious training.

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The school only carries on the work begun at the family hearth. The teachers derive their authority from the parents, whose place they hold and whose work they do. It is the duty of the State to encourage and assist this labor of educating, respecting and protecting while so doing, the divinely given and indefeasible rights of the parent.

Yes,—the part of the State is to encourage and to foster. This will strike the ripest scholar and most experienced statesman as being the attitude of the government, especially in a country and under institutions like our own.

Starting, then, on the assumption that religious instruction and all the living light and warmth which religion can impart to the work of the teacher, should not be separated in the school from the imparting of secular knowledge and professional training, I come to this necessary conclusion:—

Since, in a community divided into numerous religious denominations, denominational schools are a practical necessity, let the State bestow with impartial justice the moneys of the school fund derived from taxation, on the schools which do their work thoroughly;—and let every school receive such further encouragement as the State shall judge fit in proportion to the way the work of instruction is performed.

This is the principle on which the honors and pecuniary rewards of the Board of Intermediate Education in Ireland are distributed. No question is asked about the religious teaching given in the school, or about the denomination to which teacher and pupil belong. The work done by both, as evidenced in the result of the written and oral examinations submitted to the board, is what is passed upon by both examiners and commissioners. It is the excellence and thoroughness of the work done in the school which is proclaimed to the world every year and rewarded by the prizes bestowed on the pupils and the money remuneration awarded to the teacher. These awards are strictly in proportion to the results achieved; that is, the public moneys and the public honors are given to those who do the best work, and in proportion to its degree of excellence.

This is a golden rule,—one which approves itself to our idea of justice, and to the practical good sense of a great community, free, industrial, and progressive.

Sooner or later we shall have to come to it in the matter of

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public education. We shall be compelled by the very force of circumstances to allow both Protestants and Catholics to have schools of their own, and to give them for the erection and maintenance of the same a just share of the school fund for which they have been taxed.

BERNARD O'REILLY, Prothonotary Apostolic.

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SWISS AND FRENCH ELECTION METHODS.

BY KARL BLIND.

I

WHEN you asked me to say something on Continental election methods, in view of the Presidential campaign in your own country, my thoughts at once went to the Swiss and the French republics, and, curiously enough, to the older German empire. But what—some will perhaps exclaim—have those ancient Kaisers, with their crown and sceptre, to do with elections?

Why, a very great deal, indeed! "Freedom is ancient. It is despotism which is of modern growth," said Madame de Staël, with perfect truth. And Montesquieu, the great legist, who had travelled in Germany and other neighboring countries, including Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and England, endeavoring everywhere to make himself acquainted with the spirit of the laws of the various nations, had already written, nearly a hundred years before Madame de Staël: "From the forests of Germany the liberties of England had come."

I have no special desire, I need scarcely assure the reader, to sing the praise of the mediæval "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation." Yet, I would point out that under that empire all the princes, the highest as well as those of lesser grades, were originally simple officials, deposable by the central authority of the realm in case of maladministration. No attributes of sovereignty belonged to them. They were merely the appointed administrators of the several provinces. It was only through successive acts of lawless encroachment, of downright rebellion, sometimes of treacherous alliance with a foreign power, that they gradually achieved an independent position, which finally sapped the unity of the nation.

As to our Emperors, they, all through our history, did not hold their "tenure" of power "by the grace of God," nor by

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any law of inheritance. They were rulers by election, all of them. Constitutionally speaking, they, too, could be removed from their apparently proud place.

Yes; in what we call those benighted middle ages, and even down to the beginning of the present century, when the German Empire fell in 1806, every Kaiser issued—like a President of the Swiss Confederacy, of the French republic, or of the United States of America now—from an election. It was not even necessary that a Prince born in the purple should be chosen. Any "full free man" might be returned. So it is laid down in Article 103 of our old code, called the *Schwabenspiegel*, which was written in the language of Upper Germany.

"The Germans elect the King," says Article 98 of the same old law-book. Practically, no doubt, a College of Princes, spiritual and temporal, had assumed, in course of time, the right of choosing the King—a right which of old had belonged to a vast open assembly of freemen. Still, the great fact remained of the imperial authority being created afresh, in each case, by the election method, from the ninth to the nineteenth century.

If I may make a comparison—which, like all comparisons, limps a little—I should say that Germany then was a commonwealth with a rudimentary substratum of republican liberties, and with aristocratic power superposed—a commonwealth at whose head stood a crowned president returned for life-time, who could be unseated by his peers for felony and misdemeanor. In a clumsy way even that somewhat unphilosophical arrangement bore the mark of a time-honored German love of self-government. We called this foreman of the aristocracy the "King of the Germans;" not of Germany, be it well observed. He had no claim to the land. He was only the head magistrate of the citizens of the nation. As such he was crowned at Aachen. He obtained the further name of Kaiser, or "Emperor of the Romans," after the Bishop at Rome had poured some oil on his head. This additional Italian title of the German ruler contained, as it were, a great historical revenge, on the part of the Teutonic race, for the conquering policy of invasion which the Romans had once pursued against us, and which had ended with the overthrow of their world-dominion. For centuries a personal journey to Rome had to be made by the King of the Germans in order to receive the title of Roman Emperor. Towards the end of the fifteenth

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century, however, a Reichstag, or imperial parliament, decreed that this title belonged to our kings by a national right.

Once elected, the "King of the Germans" only remained legally so as long as he observed the charter he had sworn to maintain. No laws could be proclaimed by him without the assent of the Parliamentary Estates. If he broke the charter, they were empowered to resist him by force of arms. According to a special enactment, the King-Emperor could be tried and deposed for any violation of the compact. A regular tribunal was established for such cases—as may be seen from article 52 (B 3) of the *Sachsenspiegel*, our old law-book written in Low German. The Lord Chief Justice appointed for the contingency in question was the Count Palatine on the Rhine. Even the life of the King-Emperor would be declared to be forfeited as soon as the trial for any unconstitutional act of his had resulted in his deposition from the kingship. (*Schwabenspiegel*, Art. 105.)

Certainly, there was, legally speaking, no "right divine of kings to govern wrong" in ancient Germany. In reality, it is true, if an anachronistic expression may be permitted, "a coach and four" was sometimes driven through that constitution. That often happens with constitutions when nations are not very watchful. Still, even so late as the second half of the seventeenth century, in spite of many changes for the worse, Algernon Sidney, in his "Discourses Concerning Government," wrote of the Germans (the italics are his own):

> "Their princes, according to their merit, had the right of persuading, *not the power of commanding*; and the question was not what part of the government they would allow to the nobility and people, but what the nobility and people would give to their princes. . . . Whoever understands the affairs of Germany knows that the present emperors, notwithstanding their haughty title, had a power limited as in the days of Tacitus. If they are good and wise they may persuade; but they can command no further than the law allows. . . . No man, I presume, thinks any monarchy more limited, or more clearly derived from a delegated power, than that of the German emperors."

In the same "Discourses" the English writer emphatically dwelt on the position of the free Hanseatic towns. Their league was a republican one, on the lines of policy of a patrician merchant class. Now Algernon Sidney, the republican who paid the penalty of his principles on the scaffold, must have known something of the difference between a limited and elective mon-

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archy, as it then existed in Germany, and the personal government of a despotically inclined hereditary king like Charles II.

II.

After this reference to the old German Empire, whose institutions are often misunderstood, though they actually contained the germ of republican government, we will turn to Switzerland and her methods of electing representatives of the people and chief magistrates of the commonwealth.

The Alpine country known to-day as Switzerland once formed an integral part of the German Empire as much as Suabia, Bavaria, Franconia, Saxony, or any other province did, or as Prussia and the smaller states at present do. When, however, the central authority of the empire began to decay through the efforts of our princely families to make themselves semi-sovereign in their local territories, both the political cohesion and the freedom of the nation were seriously threatened. "Under these circumstances," to quote the words of our patriotic historian, Wirth, "the towns instinctively felt that civic liberty was in imminent danger, and they had resort, therefore, to the only means of salvation left to them—a general league of cities." These leagues took the name of *Eidgenossen*, that is, "companions bound together by an oath," namely for the overthrow of tyranny.

The first league of this kind was formed between the towns of Mayence, Worms, Speier, Frankfort, and several others. It soon spread to Cologne and Aachen in the north; to Colmar, Basel and Zürich in the south; all German towns then. It kept a good civic establishment of foot warriors, horse, and a pretty array of ships on the Rhine and the Moselle.

This is not the place to show how so great and promising a popular movement seemed at one time to bring about the democratic regeneration of Germany; but the changeful fortune of war only favored the *Eidgenossen* of Upper Allemannia in the battles of Morgarten, Sempach, and Näfels. Other members of that league in Lower Allemannia were defeated in the battle of Döffingen, in 1388, through the treachery of a nobleman, the leader of the Nuremburg contingent, who had been promised a bribe. On this point, the historian Wirth says:

"Had the citizens obtained the victory also there, the Swiss constitution of to-day would have been spread over all southern Germany: and later

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it would likewise have been extended over all our lower countries through the action of the Hansa. As it was, civic liberty was destroyed, the last obstacle to unlimited princely sovereignty removed, and, together with freedom, union vanished. This was a terrible national misfortune. . . . . The defeat of the citizen warriors at Döffingen was decisive in this sense, that Germany entered upon the road of becoming a medley of monarchies claiming separate existence. Our wretched condition at home, the loss of our power abroad, sprang from this cause. The genius of the Fatherland covered its face in sorrow when the dead body of Konrad Besserer (the heroic burgomaster of Ulm) was enshrouded in the banner of freedom on the battlefield of Döffingen."

Meanwhile the local victories in the Alpine fastness gave rise to republican communities, which finally blossomed into the *Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft*. So it still calls itself to-day, and its citizens proudly bear the name of "*Eidgenossen*," in accordance with the designation of the fourteenth century.

Separation from Germany the Swiss did at first not intend. They remained faithful to the national bond as long as possible. On its part, the German Empire was loath to release them entirely from all allegiance, however vague and shadowy, even after the Swiss had clearly renounced it. Their final severance from connection with Germany was only settled, by treaty, in 1648, after the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, when the country which once had been the common Fatherland was utterly exhausted.

I now rapidly pass to the present constitution of Switzerland and its election methods. Forty-five years ago—as I mentioned in a previous essay—that Confederacy was composed of an ill-assorted conglomerate of either democratically or aristocratically governed, partly also priest-ridden, cantons, each of which maintained its own sovereignty. In fact, Switzerland even then still bore the mark of her former connection with Imperial Germany. Being shaken by a Separatist League, the Mountain Confederacy had to pass through a civil war—even as was the fate of the United States of America within more recent times.

Fortunately, the campaign of 1847 against the Sonderbund brought a quick and decisive victory. The reformed constitution, which was then elaborated—and the proclamation of which I heard as an exile on Swiss soil, in September 1848, amidst the roar of cannon—introduced a great many ameliorations in the sense of closer union, of fuller democratic freedom, and of a more efficient system of national defence.

As in the United States of America every State, so in Switzerland

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every Canton, has its local legislature and government. The way in which the Swiss Confederacy was gradually built up, and the existence of not less than four languages (German, French, Italian and Romansch) within its several parts, accounts for the difficulties of a stricter union. The three first named languages have equal official rights as regards the publication of the laws. Surely a very fair arrangement, considering that more than two-thirds of the Swiss are of German race and speech.

According to article 60 of the constitution, the supreme power is vested in the *Bundes-Versammlung*, or Federal Assembly, which is composed of two parts: the *National-Rath* and the *Stände-Rath*; corresponding to the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States. The National-Rath (National Council) is elected by the Swiss people at large. The Stände-Rath (or Council of the Estates), is appointed by the Cantons; each Canton, whether large or small, sending two members.

Coming together as a Congress, the members of the two Federal Legislatures (National-Rath and Stände-Rath) combined elect an Executive which is called *Bundes-Rath* (Federal Council). It is composed of seven members, and its term of office is three years. Any Swiss who is eligible for the National-Rath or House of Deputies—that is, every citizen who has the right of vote, and who is not a member of the clergy—may be chosen to fill a place in this supreme Executive of the republic. A special proviso is to the effect that not more than one member of the Executive may be chosen from the same Canton.

The President and Vice-President of the Federal Council are selected by the united representatives from its own members, for the period of one year. After the lapse of that time, neither of these Presidents of the Confederacy can be re-elected for the immediately following twelvemonth. Literally speaking, it will thus be seen, the Swiss Executive is simply a Parliamentary Committee, with a chairman and vice-chairman appointed by, and responsible to, the combined House of Deputies and Senate. It is the true pyramidal form of a Democratic commonwealth.

The further enactment that no President or Vice-President of the Confederacy (or more correctly speaking, of the Executive Council of the Confederacy) can be re-elected for the twelvemonth following his term of office, is, of course, meant as a guarantee against any possible overweening ambition of a dictatorially in-

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clined leader. Again, it is enacted that if a renovation of the National-Rath should have to take place by fresh elections, a completely new election of the Executive must follow.

By this method of choosing the head, or heads, of the Swiss government, all appeals to the passions of the mass of the people are avoided; and all undue personal ambition is kept in check or stifled in its birth. America has a four years' Presidency, with a previous deep and often violent agitation of the country. Switzerland has the *one* year's Chairmanship in the Federal Council; but the careful and truly representative procedure in her election method insures quiet.

A vast country like the United States of America may probably do well by giving to the Presidential office a longer term than the one in Switzerland. But as to the mode of appointing the Executive and its Foreman or President, I hold that the Swiss custom, as in the reformed constitution of 1848, is the preferable one.

It need scarcely be said that the national representation of a republic which has such a watchful eye has also reserved to itself the appointment of the Federal Court of Justice, of the Federal Chancellor, of the commander of the army, of the Chief of the Staff, and of the diplomatic envoys. A standing army is not kept in Switzerland. Every man, however, is liable to military service for the Confederation from the age of 20 to the completed age of 44. In some of the cantons this liability extends for cantonal purposes even much longer. Thus, in the constitution of Grisons it was laid down that, in so far as the Federal constitution did not provide otherwise, the liability to bear arms should extend from the seventeenth to the sixtieth year. Whilst the Confederacy, as such, is not to keep any standing army, the several cantons are not allowed, without special permission of the Federal government, to keep more than 300 men, in each canton.

In the elections for the National-Rath, or House of Deputies of all Switzerland, every Swiss is entitled to vote who has completed his twentieth year. For every twenty thousand inhabitants there is one representative. The suffrage is a direct one. Every Swiss is also eligible as a member of that House; naturalized citizens only after five years. Non-eligibility to the National-Rath is only decreed for the members of the Stände-Rath, or Senate, its officials, and the clergy. In the elections to the Senate the special suffrage methods of each canton come into operation.

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In the average, it is manhood suffrage which prevails. The exceptions as to the right of voting mostly refer to those who live on alms, to bankrupts, to persons under guardianship, and to criminals. There is, however, a great variety in the various cantons as to the age at which a man becomes entitled to the suffrage. The constitutions I have before me fix it mostly at 20. But there are cantons in which the age of 21, 22, even 25, and on the other hand, the age of 19, 18, nay, 17, is mentioned as the one which entitles to the vote. In the eastern canton of Grisons liability to military service and the right of suffrage begin at the early age of 17. The assumption is that the man who may be called upon to sacrifice his life for the country, should also have a voice in the affairs of the commonwealth.

In several of the central or inner cantons, also, the early age of 18 or 19 is fixed for the elector. In that part of Switzerland there exists, to this day, the ancient institution of the *Lands-Gemeinde,* or full public assembly of the citizens. It is held in the open air for the discussion of the concerns of the community. The constitutions of the cantons in question declare that the sovereignty of the people is vested in the Lands-Gemeinde. In central Switzerland the priestly element yet maintains much of its influence; and it is not unlikely that very young men may be kept under the control of the Romanist priesthood.

In some of the cantons we come upon a shred of Solonic precept or law. Thus, in St. Gall, paragraph 20 of the ground-law says: "Every citizen who has the suffrage is in duty bound to visit the communal assemblies held in accordance with the constitution. Every eligible citizen is in duty bound to accept an office conferred upon him, by election, through the communal assemblies, and to serve in it for the legal term of its duration." This liability to the acceptance of a public office recurs in various cantonal constitutions. In the ground-law of the canton of Grisons, article 17 provides: "Every citizen who has the suffrage is bound to take part in plebiscites and elections referring to either federal or cantonal affairs. The law fixes the exceptional cases as well as the punishment in case of contravention."

III.

In the United States of America, however excellent its constitution in other respects may be, there is, I believe, still a faint

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trace of the monarchical traditions of Europe. On truly democratic principles, the executive power ought to issue from the legislative power, and should constantly remain accountable to the latter. But in the American Union the President is elected outside the legislative power. Hence he appears to be equal to the latter, in some respects even above it; and the possibility of a conflict is thus furnished.

In France, after the overthrow of King Louis Philippe in 1848, the example of the United States was followed in the main by the introduction of a four years' presidency. The head of the republic was elected by the direct vote of the masses; even the slight and somewhat fictitious barrier of an Electoral College. The outcome was a deplorable one, owing to the strong monarchial traditions among the ignorant peasant population. France paid for the mistake by a political slavery extending to 1870, when the Bonapartean empire collapsed in a war begun "with a light heart."

Had the advice of M. Grévy prevailed in 1848 things might have turned out very differently. He whom the irony of fate lifted to the presidential office in 1879 for seven years had proposed, soon after the revolution of February, that Parliament should appoint a head of the Executive, who might at any moment be removed by a parliamentary vote—even like a prime minister. This proposition certainly went too far. It was somewhat apt to deprive the government of a desirable degree of stability. At any rate it did not sin in the opposite direction of giving an ambitious personage, whom the wild clamor of an unenlightened multitude might carry into the presidential office, a chance of overthrowing the republic by force of arms, as was done on that fatal night of December 2, 1851.

Our old friend Louis Blanc also was of the opinion, in 1848, that there should be no presidential office at all. He announced his proposition in the following words: "In the French republic, founded on February 24, 1848, there will be no President." Before he could, however, develop his thesis in Parliament, he became a refugee under a false accusation, launched against him, of being implicated in a previous seditious rising, with which, in reality, he had had no concern whatever. In an Appendix to his "*Revélations Historiques*," Louis Blanc explains what he held to be the danger to Republican freedom from a President elected by the masses. He thought such a ruler would

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regard his own title superior to that of every representative of the people; and he might, therefore, be under the temptation of using the military power for the overthrow of the commonwealth.

The arguments given by Louis Blanc were quite correct, considering the state of things in a country which had only just achieved its emancipation from monarchial rule, and in which a number of dynastic Pretenders had to be feared. Unfortunately, he himself committed the grave error of pleading for the admission of Louis Bonaparte as a member of the National Assembly, contrary to the wiser counsels of Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin. It was from a feeling of "Republican generosity" that the historian of the French Revolution put forth this plea. In all probability he was also influenced by Louis Bonaparte's semi-Socialistic professions of a desire to bring about the "Extinction of Pauperism"—an idea with which the crafty Pretender played in those days, and which had induced the young Socialistic writer to pay him a friendly visit in the prison-fortress of Ham.

In London, Louis Blanc once showed me this pamphlet on the "Extinction of Pauperism," of which Louis Bonaparte was the author, and which had on the title-page a personal inscription containing some words of sympathetic dedication to our friend. It was a painful souvenir at a time when France was under the Napoleonic Reign of Terror, and Louis Blanc an exile.

The third French republic acted more prudently in the matter of the Presidency than the second one. It took Switzerland as its model in regard to the way of electing the chief magistrate of the country. In the summer of 1848, when France was in the throes of an internal convulsion, being occupied also with elaborating a new constitution, that reformed Swiss ground-law had not yet been publicly proclaimed. Even had its draft been more generally known, it is to be feared that in the state of public opinion in France at that time there would have been little inclination to follow the example of the small Alpine commonwealth.

Happily, it was otherwise after France had gone through sore despotic oppression. The lesson taught by Switzerland having at last been learnt by France, her new republican institutions have been maintained up to the present, for twenty-one years—a longer time of existence than any Republican, Imperial, or Royalist government has had since the days of the great Revolution of 1789.

KARL BLIND.

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QUARANTINE AT NEW YORK.

BY WILLIAM T. JENKINS, M. D., HEALTH OFFICER, PORT OF NEW YORK.

IT WAS somewhere about the end of July or the beginning of August that I wrote to Washington for two copies of the hydrographic maps of the world. One of these was fastened on a wooden back and hung up in the boat-house on the Quarantine wharf. Here, day by day, the march of the cholera was marked, as it came to me from the reports in the newspapers. The typhus fever which had broken out in New York in the spring had passed Quarantine one week before I took hold of the work, and almost my first order was to disinfect all baggage belonging to Russian immigrants. On August 19 I heard there was cholera in Germany, and I telegraphed the Hon. J. W. Foster, Acting Secretary of State, asking him to investigate the story through the American consuls. On August 25 I received a dispatch from him saying the disease had been in Hamburg since the 18th. I answered at once asking that all emigrants to this country from infected ports or cities be detained by the consuls from five to eight days in order that the disease might have a chance to show itself. While these orders were, I believe, given by the State Department, they were not obeyed.

As the stories of cholera on the other side became more and more alarming, that we would have cases of it appear among the immigrants became certain. It was an anxious time for all who had the health of the people in their charge, and to none more than to me who stood on guard at the principal port of entry in this country. Many suggestions were made to me, among others that I should lay an embargo of ten days on all commerce. This I declined to do.

The first cholera ship—the disease appearing as cholerine in

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the records on board—which arrived was the "Moravia." She had had twenty-four cases and twenty-two deaths, or about 92 per cent. of mortality. Of those attacked two women got well. After the arrival of the ship one other fatal case occurred, slightly raising the percentage of death.

It is not necessary here to tell the story of the cholera ships that arrived at this port, for that story is still fresh in the minds of all. Suffice it to say that the "Moravia" was followed by the "Rugia," the "Normannia," the "Scandia," the "Bohemia," the "Heligoland," and the "Wyoming," each having the disease on board. Hoffman Island being crowded, saloon passengers were transferred to the steamboat "Stonington," provided through the kindness of Mr. E. D. Morgan. Fire Island was purchased by Governor Flower at my suggestion, and, after many delays, the passengers were put there. The United States Government, at my request, handed over the "New Hampshire," and provided Camp Low. The disease was gradually stamped out, and ships began to arrive with clean bills of health until finally the so-called "cholera scare" was over. This brief abstract of what happened will serve to bring the story back to my readers' minds. In all there were 158 cases on the ships, distributed as follows: "Moravia," 25; "Rugia," 33; "Normannia," 20; "Scandia," 48; "Bohemia," 27; "Heligoland," 2; "Wyoming," 3.

In the case of the "Normannia" (and also of all the other cholera ships) the first thing done was to collect some of the *dejecta* of the sick and give it to the bacteriologists for examination. They pronounced the disease to be Asiatic cholera, as they found the distinctive bacillus. Without waiting for their report, however, the active work of stamping the disease out began.

The steamship was ordered to Lower Quarantine, and all sick, as well as all suspects, were transferred to the hospitals on Swinburne Island. The dead were also landed. I gave instructions to the officers of the ship to have all the drinking water boiled before it was used, and I notified the Hamburg-American Packet Company to send down water boats, so that a supply of Croton water might be on board. I also directed the officers to be careful to see that nothing was thrown overboard. The company sent down a transfer boat, and all the immigrants, with their baggage, were landed on Hoffman Island. Dr. Sanborn, one of

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the most experienced assistants on my staff and a man who knew exactly what to do, took up his residence on board the steamship. It is largely owing to his efforts, I think, that everything went on as well as it did.

I got from the Hamburg-American Packet Company a full supply of disinfectants. I ordered all bedding soiled by the *dejecta* of the sick to be rolled up in sheets which had been dipped in a solution of bichloride of mercury, and the bundles so made to be thrown into the furnaces under the boilers. Then the compartments in which the sick had been were washed down with this solution in the most thorough manner. All packages of freight were washed outside in the same way, and the steamer itself was washed everywhere with this solution. The bilge water was pumped out and replaced with fresh sea water having the bichloride in it. The washing down of the ship with the solution was repeated every day while she lay in quarantine. The steerage deck was closed and caulked, and steam turned in for two hours. The heat was so great that it started the tar in the deck seams above. When this was finished the steerage and hold were shut up, and sulphur, in proportion of three pounds per thousand cubic feet, was burned, the fumes being allowed to remain between decks for five hours. This completed the treatment of the ship itself, and it was repeated with each that arrived.

The sick and suspects were removed to Swinburne Island, where the former were treated in the hospitals and the latter carefully watched. The number of sick taken there was 63; of suspects, 95; deaths among the sick, 20; among suspects, 3. The dead were removed at night in order to save the feelings of the living and were cremated.

All of the immigrants from the "Normannia" were taken to Hoffman Island. Here they were stripped and bathed thoroughly in salt water, to which bichloride of mercury, 1 to 5,000, had been added. The baths were at the normal temperature of the water at the end of August. After being thoroughly scrubbed, they wrapped themselves in blankets and waited for their clothes. These had been placed in the steam disinfecting boxes and submitted to a heat over 212° for four hours. This treatment will kill any known germs of disease. The baggage of all the immigrants was unpacked, each article shaken out and put into the

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steam. The crews of the steamships were treated in the same way as the immigrants. As no cases had appeared among the saloon passengers, the only thing done with them was to have their baggage washed down with the bichloride solution and to keep them, with those in the steerage, in quarantine until all danger had passed.

The treatment of the "Normannia" and those on board of her was repeated with every steamship which arrived with the cholera on board. In the case of the "Moravia," "Scandia" and "Bohemia," as there was no room on Hoffman Island, I was forced to have the immigrants treated on board the ships, the bathing going on in a sail suspended by the four corners and filled with the sea water into which the bi chloride had been put. The clothing was then disinfected by steam in a close compartment on the steamer.

It is a peculiarity of Americans that they never lock the stable until after the horse has been stolen. Naturally, then, the Quarantine service of the port of New York was utterly unprepared for the unprecedented work so suddenly thrust on it. I had neither men, boats, hospitals, pavilions for the well, money or anything else sufficient for the emergency, and I was forced to do what I could with the help I could get on the moment. Most fortunately for me and for the people I was able to secure the services, as consultant, of Dr. Geo. M. Sternberg, Deputy Surgeon General of the United States Army, than whom there is no man in this country more thoroughly cognizant of the treatment of contagious diseases. I am glad to have an opportunity to thank him. I had when the "Moravia" arrived about $7,000 in the treasury, and although I do not yet know, for to this date (October 10) the books have not yet been made up, I imagine I have run into debt. The Hon. Hugh J. Grant, Mayor of New York, sent me word that I could call on him for money if I needed it during the anxious time, and I am none the less obliged to him because I did not ask for it.

The needs of the quarantine of the port of New York, in order to meet any future inroad of disease threatening the whole country, are not very many. There should be an island constructed between Hoffman and Swinburne Islands having an area of ten acres. This would not cost much beyond the spiling and the rip-rap. The water is shoal, and all ships coming here in ballast could be re-

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quired to dump there. On this island, when made, a pavilion large enough to hold 1,000 people should be built, together with disinfecting apparatus and the various outhouses. I can now accommodate 500 or 600 people in the hospitals on Swinburne Island, and 1,000 on Hoffman Island if it be necessary. This new island—I should call it Flower Island, if I could, in memory of Governor Flower's speech on politics and health—would give all the necessary space.

There should be purchased by the State one fast tug for the Health officer to make his rounds in, one boarding tug for the use of the assistants, one large transfer boat to move immigrants in, and one hospital boat for the sick and suspects. These should be kept in Quarantine all the time and should be for quarantine purposes only. I should not object to lending the hospital boat, when not needed, to such associations as St. John's Guild in the summer time, providing, of course, they paid the expenses. But, when needed, these boats should be ready for Quarantine service, for it is impossible to arrange a hospital boat in a week. If we should have another outbreak of the cholera in Europe next spring—as is very probable—these boats may be badly needed.

There should be an emergency fund of at least $50,000 deposited in some bank apart from the regular funds of Quarantine. This money should not be touched, even when, under the present scale of fees, the Quarantine expenditures run ahead of the receipts. It should be subject to the check of the Health officer, indorsed by the Governor, but only when one or more ships having cases of contagious disease on board should arrive in this port.

In case the new island should be made, it would be well, if possible, to dredge a channel for an ocean steamship to a wharf to be constructed on it. This would do away with the necessity of a transfer boat. While I would like to see this done, it is not in my opinion absolutely necessary. The other things suggested are necessary and as to the money, the need of that is imperative. Disease will not, unfortunately, regulate its appearance by the sessions of the Legislature.

The present fees charged are, in cases where ships having contagious disease on board arrive in this port, little else than ridiculous. For example, the fee for disinfecting a ship is $5, and with the largest ocean steamships but two fees can be charged.

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In other words, the steamship pays the Quarantine service $10, and the very lowest cost of disinfecting the steamship properly is about $150.

When the fees were much larger than at present the annual appropriation made by the Legislature was $200,000. The appropriation last year was $20,000. In 1890 my predecessor, Dr. Smith, who managed the Quarantine service with the greatest economy, found himself $1,200 behind when the yearly accounts were made up.

The necessity for money during such a time as that which I have recently passed through is perfectly obvious. Ordinarily, two physicians, in addition to the Health officer, are sufficient for the service. Were Flower Island built, and should cholera or any other contagious disease come to this port, it would be necessary to increase this number to at least ten. During the last two months I have had eleven physicians. In addition to the ten physicians there should be ten disinfectors, the captains, engineers and crews of the hospital and transfer boats, nurses, cooks, engineers in charge of the steam apparatus on the islands, laborers, etc., etc. Now while all these can be got, and while the companies furnish a certain number of men, money is needed for them and for the supplies.

It must be remembered that, New York being the principal port of entry in the United States, it is through this gate that contagious disease enters. It is the duty of the State, with this terrible responsibility on it, to see that nothing is left undone that will make the guard sure and certain. I am assured that this duty need only be pointed out, and the necessities of Quarantine explained, to have all that is necessary done.

The last three months has been an anxious time for me; it is impossible for me to say how anxious. During that time I have been supported by the press, by public officers, and by public associations in a way and to an extent that I am most sincerely thankful for. Not only have they lightened the crushing weight on my shoulders and relieved the terrible responsibility resting on me in the most material way, but their sympathy and good will have comforted me in many an hour of painful thought. I cannot let this opportunity pass without placing on record my sincere gratitude to them.

Nor can I refrain from expressing my deep sense of obliga

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tion to the Governor of the State of New York, the Mayor of the city of New York, President Martin and Superintendent Byrnes of the Police, President Cram of the Dock Commission, and President Wilson of the Board of Health. These gentlemen have afforded invaluable aid without obstructing the work of quarantine.

For myself, confronted with a great danger to my countrymen and feeling that on me rested the responsibility of managing the first line of defence against the disease, I can only say I have done my very best in the position in which I found myself. I have made mistakes, I know, and were the occasion to come again I might do differently in some things. It is for my fellow citizens to say if I have done well.

WILLIAM T. JENKINS.

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WANTED, A NEW PARTY.

BY T. V. POWDERLY.

IN THE canvass of 1884 the cry that sounded louder than the tariff was "Turn the rascals out." Those who were not inclined to use so harsh a term expressed themselves in favor of a change. "We want a change" was heard on all sides, and the people voted for a change. Those who did not want a change were holding office, and they were about the only ones who experienced much of a change when the Democracy entered upon its four years of life. Whether the rascals were turned out or not, it is certain that the people turned the Democracy out again in 1888. It is safe to say that the change effected in the revolution of 1884 did not affect the nation, as was expected, or a change back to the old party would not have taken place in such a short time.

A glance at the platforms of the two old parties this year will not disclose a very startling difference; they are both framed to catch as many votes as possible, and both express sympathy for the Jews in Russia and the Irish in Ireland, but they scrape the skies for lofty, high-sounding terms in which to describe American affairs, ignoring the fact that there are Americans in this land who do not want sympathy, but who do demand relief from the exactions of monopoly. The Jews, the world over, control a great deal of wealth; they are worth courting, and as kind words and sympathy cost nothing, a political platform may as well express a little sympathy as not. The Irish are not so well off as the Jews, but they have a greater number of votes to bestow, and surely an expression of smpathy with the Irish—in Ireland—can do no harm. It is understood, of course, that the principle at stake in Russia and Ireland is what determined the platform-makers to lavish their sympathy, and if the Jews could be cajoled into contributing to campaign funds and the Irish induced to

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give their votes, the sympathy would, in the end, prove a paying investment. It is to be hoped that the Jews and the Irish in the United States are Americans, and that such transparent bids for support will not sway them in voting. There are Jews and Irish in the United States, and, as they are more liable to feel the effects of the coming elections, they, in common with other voters, are the ones to receive consideration now.

The tariff is the one issue between the Republican and Democratic parties; all other issues are incidental and of secondary consideration. In Tennessee there are miners, many of them natives of Ireland, who are starving because the rogues, murderers and rascals of that State have been turned out of the penitentiaries to take their places in the mines. The foremost men of both parties are the holders of the infamous leases under which the convicts are kept in the places of honest men. If sincerity had an abiding place in the hearts of these platform builders they would have bestowed some of their sympathy on the workmen of Tennessee. Natives of European countries were members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers last July; they were also citizens of the United States; they were guaranteed the right to bear arms and use them in defence of themselves and of the State. A foreign force invaded the State, the workmen of Homestead repulsed them and in doing so used violence which would not have been necessary had the officers of the law regarded their oaths of office as being more than mere title deeds to position. At Buffalo later on we saw a railroad company, owned by English capital, setting at defiance the laws of the State of New York. We saw switchmen strike against the outrage upon the law. We saw the blaze arise from a train of disabled, but well-insured, freight cars and heard the roar of censure which swept over the land. Then the troops went to Buffalo. We saw the outbreak at Cœur d'Alene; we saw the flagrant violations of law, on both sides.

In all of these scenes we witnessed the introduction of a power which usurps that of the people, an authority which sets itself higher than constitutions and law—the Judiciary. Where no law exists a judicial decision will dovetail into the case and a Judge can always be found who owes his ermine to the votes which were purchased for him by corporate wealth. We hear the cry against the importation of the handiwork of foreigners, while all the time the

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foreigners themselves come in duty free to take the places of American workmen. Neither party utters an earnest, sincere protest against the invasion. We hear a wail for the Jews who are outraged by the Czar, and the Irish who are forced to give up the last grain of wheat to pay the rent, but the more autocratic and dangerous, because more insidious, power of our American Czar goes unnoticed. Neither party proclaims its devotion to the best interests of the American people by demanding that the railroads, the public highways, shall become the property of the government. Neither party declares in favor of government ownership of telegraphs and telephones. If there is a power which stands a menace to the perpetuity of American institutions, that power is vested in the managers of the railroads and telegraphs of the nation. With the avenues of transportation of passengers, freight and intelligence in the grasp of a few selfish men, it is expecting too much of human nature to suppose that anything higher than counting dividends will occupy the attention of the owners of these concerns.

Behind the railways and telegraphs stands the Judiciary, ready and willing to lend its awful strength to that now exercised by corporate wealth, so that the combination may strike terror to the hearts of the men who must work for bread. Vest the title to the rail and telegraph lines in the government and we destroy the incentive to own judges and courts. Every well-regulated railroad corporation now owns its judges and courts; one of the necessary adjuncts to the great corporation of the day is a court of its own, or a number of them. It is cheaper to buy judges to set aside laws than it is to pay a number of legislators to make laws; besides it is safer and attracts less attention. We make law, and it is laughed at by the trust, the syndicate and the combine; we make appeals to courts and governors, and our appeals are laughed at and pigeon-holed, or else a mock trial is entered upon to deceive and lull the majority to the sleep of death. We elect judges and they stand guard at the portals of monopoly. We turn to parties that have for a hundred years made promises, and they feed us on more promises. They assert that they will arrest the march of monopoly, but we must not forget that that march was begun under their sheltering wing, and that it has assumed its colossal proportions under their fostering care. Side by side with the

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Democratic and Republican parties has monopoly grown; they begot it; they fed it until it became strong enough to feed them, and it is the height of folly to expect that the creator will destroy the creature on which it fattens.

At Omaha it was hoped by many that Judge Gresham would accept the nomination for the Presidency from the People's party. A Republican, one prominent in the councils of his party in days gone by, wrote me on the eve of that convention:

"The useful work of the Republican and Democratic parties has been done, and the time has come for the people to rise and make a new party. . . . I have done all I could to force the Republican party to become the party of the people. There is no use in making effort to correct either of the old parties."

The writer of that is a millionaire; he bears a name honored in American history and means what he says. Another gentleman, very wealthy, wrote as follows:

"In forming a new party, it is important, while clearly defining leading principles, not to erect fences which will shut out a multitude of people who might otherwise desire to be with you."

He then gives a brief draft of a platform and adds:

"But having gone so far, do not permit the tacking on of unnecessary incumbrances—the less detail the better. Ten men will read a platform of a thousand words to one who will go over one of the usual length. . . . Choose a man like Gresham, if possible, for standard bearer. If he will accept, please say to him that I beg to place at his disposal a check for $1,000 towards his personal expenses during the campaign."

Hundreds of other men in like circumstances in life expressed similar sentiments. There are thousands, not obliged to do manual labor, who feel the same way; they long for a change, not from the rule of Republicanism to that of Democracy—so called—but to a new and honest party which will grapple in earnest with the evils which threaten our country. This may not be the year to elect such a candidate, but it is the year to inaugurate the movement which will place such a party in power later on, and every workingman, every thinking man, and every patriot should cast his vote for the candidate of the People's party this year. That party aims at government ownership of railroads and telegraphs; it aims at establishing a pure and real democracy in the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum in legislation, and is therefore the real party of democracy in this campaign.

T. V. POWDERLY.

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ARE THERE TOO MANY OF US?

BY PRESIDENT E. B. ANDREWS, BROWN UNIVERSITY.

THE scientific treatment of questions touching population began with Thomas Robert Malthus. The first edition of his great work, "An Essay on the Principle of Population as It Affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers," appeared in 1798, as a polemic pamphlet. It was in part aimed at the vicious, pauperizing poor-law of England at that time; in part it was a criticism upon the superficial optimism of those writers who had been carried away by the vaporings of Rousseau and other French Revolutionary philosophers. Malthus's own father was one of these. Godwin, to whom the title of the Essay refers, was another. Political equality and commercial freedom, they argued, would in a little while produce a perfectly happy society. Vice and misery were at once to disappear and the millenium to dawn, if only the fine doctrines of the Revolution, of the Physiocrats, of Adam Smith, could get themselves realized.

Malthus opposed this pleasing view on the ground that such ideal social weal is and necessarily must be hindered by the very conditions of life, population inevitably tending to increase more rapidly than subsistence and the possibility of general welfare. In its later editions, of which no less than seven appeared during the author's lifetime, the Essay casts off its polemic form and becomes a mere dissertation. But the essential thought is unchanged; human beings tend to multiply faster than food can be provided for them. Malthus represented the difference as that between arithmetical and geometrical ratio, population multiplying as the series 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, and so on, production swelling meantime only as the series 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and so on. He, however, laid no stress on the exactness or the mathematical

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expressibility of his law, but only on the validity of it as a general truth.

Malthus does not allege that population in fact increases thus rapidly, but that it tends to do so, and would, were it not for certain checks. They are of two classes: the moral or preventive, and the positive or repressive. The preventive checks include everything that helps keep human life from originating when it would otherwise do so. The positive consist in whatever kills off our species, as wars, famines, vices, pestilences and ordinary disease. Had Malthus lived later he would doubtless have noticed more fully than he did the agency of social custom in nullifying for men the law of the survival of the physically fittest, propagating bodily disorders probably to a far greater extent than hygiene and medicine avail in the contrary direction. But the checks which he names are numerous and powerful, so much so, he thinks, that, without their incessant working through all past time, the world would long ago have been overrun.

Nearly all the countless attempts to refute Malthus, instead of doing this, practically fall in with his theory, merely emphasizing more or less the activity of his checks. Thus, Herbert Spencer, in urging that the physical nature grows less imperious as culture advances, * is simply pointing out how the preventive check applies itself. Bastiat showed that the same advance of culture, making parents unwilling that their children should be worse off than they, works a voluntary, or truly moral application of the preventive check. Neither of these tendencies, however, is operative upon the vast masses of mankind, in reference to whom the great problem is to get them under the influence of culture. Of the very poor, only the positive checks keep down the numbers. Malthus's second edition significantly differs from the first in admitting a far larger hope from moral self-restraint as one of the preventive checks. In this change Malthus does not, as Bagehot argues, "cut away the ground of his whole argument." The peculiar check in question may exist and act, widely and beneficently, yet over vast multitudes of human kind totally fail of effect.

In spite of all these checks, Malthus maintains, population tends to outrun subsistence. Some men must always be needy. As a matter of fact, he says, checks of the one kind or the other are in every nation, past or present, what has kept population

* Biology, pt. vi.

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down to food. Darwin declares that in reading "Malthus On Population" he became impressed "that natural selection was the inevitable result of the rapid increase of all organic beings"; and he admits his now famous theory to be but "the doctrine of Malthus applied with manifold force to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms." With men as with brutes, it is a fight for life. The social bliss for which we sigh is not to be had so cheaply as Rousseau and Godwin said. Great continence is a human duty. No man has a right to bring children into the world unless he has a fair prospect of ability to support them.

As Malthus laid no stress on the exactness of his alleged progressions we do not refute him by showing those progressions inexact. The question is, have they a truth, or truths, at bottom?

The assumption of a geometrical ratio as the law of humanity's numerical increase is a good way from the fact. We will not quarrel over the question whether it is not absurd to speak at all of a "natural" rate of increase for human beings. In his assumption of a "natural rate" Malthus seemed to be thinking how swiftly life would replenish the earth if all checks were away.* But disease and death are natural, and just what pressure of them shall we call a check? We must not confound the "natural tendency" of men to increase with the abstract physiological possibility of numerous births; nor is it the same to allege a tendency to too great increase, and to say that, all things considered, there is a danger, since a certain increase, if well distributed, might be for centuries no curse, but a blessing.

Malthus took as his norm to go by a young country, the United States, where all was in the highest degree favorable to great prolificacy. He derived his figures from Benjamin Franklin's "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind and the Peopling of Colonies," 1751, one of his earliest works. As he stated, our population was, when Malthus wrote, doubling at the rate of once in 25 years. We have never had a uniform registration of births and deaths, and our national census is taken once only in ten years; so that we cannot tell for any period the exact annual increment of population, or say how much is due to excess of births over deaths, and how much to immigration. The increase in the last decade of last century was 35.10 per cent., and for the first

*Such an order of things as Rümelin describes, "*Reden und Aufsaetze*," I, 320 seq. Cf. Uhland's beautiful poem, "*Ver Sacrum*."

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decade of this 36.38 per cent., probably the most rapid gains in population from natural causes—for the immigration during these 20 years was but slight—of which we have any record. In these two decades there may easily have been, right along, 48 births per thousand inhabitants, and not over 28 deaths, giving a natural increase of more than three per cent. As the struggle for existence increases in severity, families diminish in size, marriages are less frequent, or entered into at a later age, and population does not grow so rapidly. Our progress as a nation is greatly due to the natural wealth of our country. Even now we have of persons over 70 only 14 in 1,000, where France has 37, while females within the 22 years of possible maternity, number 18 or 19 per cent., instead of 16, which is the average.

During the fifty years from 1790 to 1840 our population doubled twice. Between 1790 and 1885 Rhode Island doubled in population nearly two and a half times, or, exactly, increased 341.1 per cent. From 1880 to 1885 the gain was 10 per cent. The average per cent. of our entire national increase has been 32.7 per decade ever since 1790. Excluding the war decade it has been 33.95 per cent. Aside from the people who have come to us with territorial acquisition, we seem to have gained about 2.6 per cent. yearly ever since this century began. Between 1850 and 1880, we went from 23,191,876, to 50,155,783. That is, we more than doubled during those thirty years in spite of the war.

As a clergyman, Malthus may have been influenced in part by the Old Testament figures relating to the multiplication of the Israelites in Egypt. These captives occupied a fruitful land, with no hindrances to rapid growth, and were probably augmented by immigration from related tribes. They were in Egypt 430 years. The original colony had in Jacob with his sons and grandsons 70 male persons. After the exodus, according to Moses's census, there were 603,550 males 20 years old and upwards. By Euler's method they must have doubled once in about 30 years, involving a yearly increase of over 2 per cent.

But although Malthus could find a few instances of such swift growth, he had no right to generalize from them. A hundred years before his time, Europe was thought to double its population only once in two centuries.* Henry George, in his "Progress and Poverty," urges against Malthus the small number of the de-

* Sir Wm. Petty, "Political Arithmetic," ch. [illegible].

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scendants from Confucius. These, 2,150 years from their great ancestor's death, amounted to only about 22,000 souls, instead of 859,559,193,106,709,670,198,710,528, as they should have mustered had they doubled once in 25 years. With this may be coupled a consideration touching China at large. The Chinese as a people date back five thousand years at least. The country is five times as large as Germany, warmer and more fruitful than Europe. A great part of its soil produces two harvests yearly. The people raise few cattle, living mostly on vegetable food. Yet, owing to checks of some sort, of which probably infanticide, which is favored by law, may be regarded as the chief, the population there is less dense on the average than in Belgium, Saxony or England.

Europe has probably doubled its population in the last 100 years. Between 1820 and 1880 its population arose from 200 millions to 330 millions, a yearly increase of $\frac{8}{10}$ of one per cent. Our oldest statistics are for Sweden and reach back to 1750. Sweden's population was in 1752 1,785,727; in 1884, 4,644,448, a total increase of 160 per cent. over the figure at the first date named. Passing to the first third of this century we find Baden doubling its population only in 34 years, Hungary only in 38, Belgium in 42, Tuscany and Galicia in 43, Sardinia in 44. In none of the older nations has a yearly increase of 2 per cent. ever been reached, nor is there any likelihood of such a gain, at least for any length of time. France, at its present rate of gain, will need nearly, or quite, 300 years to double its population.

Never, in Europe, were the conditions for great increase better than from 1820 to 1870; yet the numbers only went in these years from about 200 millions to about 300 millions, or $\frac{8}{10}$ of one per cent. annual gain, and the nations which advanced the most rapidly have at no time doubled this rate. A doubling of population in 25 years, as was going on in the United States when Malthus was alive, is therefore no normal but a very abnormal phenomenon.

We know full well what Malthus would reply to this exhibit. He would hail it as a proof of his position, alleging as the reason for the slower gains enumerated, that the checks had been more active in Europe than in America. And, for substance of fact, he would be right. I only demur at his doctrinaire assump-

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tion of the American figures as the more "normal." Checks are "normal," too; and, as already remarked, it is purely arbitrary to set down this or that exact pressure of them as preëminently the natural one. Only at extreme pressure does it seem to me reasonable to pronounce them pathological.

Malthus erred, not only as to the rate of human increase, but also as to its philosophy. He did not allow enough for barrenness, and he made the age of possible maternity too long. Also, he did not allow for the numerous pairs like Napoleon and Josephine, the parties unfruitful together, though able to be fruitful with others. Statistics show that the maternity period does not average over twenty-two years, and that about one-seventh of the married women are without children.* In every thousand human beings in any community there will average to be about 165 women of the maternity age 15 of them childless, leaving at most but 150 who will be mothers. To find the yearly increase of population per thousand, suppose each of the 150 to have three children in the 22 years. The average per year is then $\frac{150 \times 3}{22}$, which equals 20+, and the result is larger the more children there are to the family. If we assume 4, it is 27+; if 5, 34+; if 6, 41—; if 7, 48+; if 8, 54+, etc.

Over against such figure, whatever it is, we have to set the rate of mortality. This, under the most favorable conditions, is about 20 per thousand, annually, increasing somewhat according as the number of births swells.

In 1,000 persons, if the average number of children to a mother is three, just as many persons will die as are born. If mothers have four each, 27 will be born while 22 die. And so on. Malthus supposed that an average of four children per family would double the population every 25 years. On the contrary, seven per family would double it only in 35 years. The people of Rhode Island, where, in 1885, on an average, 4.27 children were born to each mother, would at that rate need a century and a quarter to double. This, of course, takes no account of immigration.

It was obvious that Malthus was far astray at least regarding the form of his law. From our better statistics we can correct

* Rümelin, "*Reden und Aufsaetze*," I., 312 ff. I am indebted to this learned author for most of my figures relating to Europe.

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him. The natural rate of multiplication, if we admit such a notion, could not even by Malthus's own principles have been greater in his time than in the years covered by our best recent statistics, because material prosperity has been improving meanwhile. If the rate assigned by him is now too great, it certainly was then.

Yet Malthus is correct in urging that men tend to multiply with decided rapidity. It is universally recognized that a stationary population is abnormal, a sign of disease. The rule is advance.

We saw that the rate per cent. of increase in the United States, including immigration, has been 32.70 per decade ever since 1790. Unless immigration is checked, it is hardly likely to fall off at present or for 100 years. But even supposing the rate to be 30 per cent. per decade, the population by 1990 will be 898,207,250, which, without new territory, would give us 299.3 inhabitants to the square mile. We should then have a denser population than the British Isles to-day; and while we could not even so be said to have reached a limit of population fully taxing the supporting power of our territory, our people could not look forward to still further expansion without apprehension.

Europe's population, doubling in the last 100 years, has gained about $\frac{7}{10}$ of one per cent. yearly. For the last 60 years of relatively accurate records, the gain in several of the European states, England, Prussia, and the Scandinavian lands, has been 1 per cent. or more yearly, in spite of emigration, and the average has not been under $\frac{5}{10}$ of one per cent. in any normal year. We may then take this $\frac{1}{2}$ of one per cent. as the normal minimum.

At 1 per cent. annual increase Germany in the year 2000 would have 160 million inhabitants. In two centuries from now it would have 300 millions, and in three centuries 650 millions. Europe would have at the same rate in two centuries from now 2,300 million inhabitants, and in three centuries 4,800 millions. The last figure would require not much short of 2,000 people to live on a square mile—an impossibility under anything like present economic arrangements.

But take the actual minimum normal rate of one-half of one per cent. annual increase. At this, in 280 years, Europe will have 1,300,000,000 inhabitants. By the real present rate the increase would be much faster, giving 600 millions in about 80

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years, 25, 30 or 40 millions in excess of the present. Even with one-third of one per cent. Germany would in 1,000 years from now have 1,200 millions, and in 2,000 years, 36 billions. Even France, at its rate of progress in the last 60 years, 2.3 per thousand, yearly, which is the smallest in Europe, would in 500 years have 300 million souls; just about 2,000 to every square mile.

It is instructive to apply backward the present rate of increase in Europe's population. Taking the minimum normal of $\frac{1}{2}$ of one per cent. a year and reckoning it back to about the beginning of the 5th century A. D., we should make the population of Europe then to have been only half a million. But Wietersheim carefully estimates the population of the European parts of the Roman Empire in the 2d century A. D. as 45 millions. Now, after seventeen hundred years, there are only 156 millions, a yearly increase of only $\frac{7}{1000}$ of one per cent., or $\frac{7}{10}$ of one in a thousand, and a doubling-period of 950 years.

Malthus's assumption as to the relatively slow and difficult manner in which men's food supply has to be increased was a good deal nearer the truth than what he wrote about the growth of population, but he did not see with any clearness the real nature of the law which he was approaching.

The law, according to which production in general advances, is: The more capital and labor applied to nature, the more product. In agriculture, however, and with certain modifications, in mining, another law evidently prevails, which has been denominated the law of diminishing return, to the effect that in the long run, increased application of labor and capital fails to command a proportionate increase of return. It is this law of diminishing return in agriculture which forms the stern significance of the Malthusian doctrine. Its operation may be postponed, and the reverse law of increasing return be set in action for a time. Addition to population will have this tendency up to a certain limit, by making possible a fuller division of labor. Improved agricultural machines and methods will work in the same way; as it will also to bring, in a new country, more fertile land under cultivation. To have demonstrated this point is the great merit of the late Henry C. Carey. But the operation of these causes cannot continue forever; the general law under which soil is tilled is the one named, the law of diminishing return.

So that while Malthus did not hit the truth with any exact-

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ness, the principle for which he was so vaguely feeling is, when found, a true one, over which it were far more seemly to look sober than to laugh.

It is a fact that population would, in a thousand localities, soon outstrip the means of feeding it, if it were not kept down by vice, misery, or self-restraint. In a state of society where self-restraint does not act at all, or only so little that we need not think of it, population will augment till the poorest class have only just enough to support life. In a community where self-restraint acts effectually, each class of the community will augment till it reaches the point when it begins to exercise that restraint.* Do not infer from this that the self-restraining communities are as likely to occur as the others. That would indeed be a negation of Malthusianism, but it is contrary to fact, so hard is it to bring restraint to act on the masses of the people.

"So long as unlimited multiplication goes on, no social organization which has ever been devised, or is likely to be devised, no fiddle-faddling with the distribution of wealth, will deliver society from the tendency to be destroyed by the reproduction within itself, in its intensest form, of that struggle for existence, the limitation of which is the object of society. And however shocking to the moral sense this eternal competition of man against man or of nation against nation may be; however revolting may be the accumulation of misery at the negative pole of society, in contrast with that of monstrous wealth at the positive pole, this state of things must abide, and grow continually worse, so long as Istar holds her way unchecked. It is the true riddle of the Sphinx; and every nation which does not solve it will sooner or later be devoured by the monster itself has generated." †

Malthus's recommendations are in substance still needed. Though, perhaps, no country can yet be said to be saturated with population, many localities, great cities especially, are so. It boots nothing to know that none die from the niggardliness of nature in the strict sense, which is true if you take large areas, so as not to light on famine spots; because the maladjustments of society are, even in Malthus's own discussion, conceived as practically part of nature. The exhortation should, however, be modified, to the effect that the able, intelligent, well to do,

* Bagehot, "Economic Studies," 139.
† Huxley, "*Nineteenth Century*," February, 1888, p. 169.

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especially such as can instruct and lead, may even have a duty to propagate. There is nothing in Malthusianism, or in the fact of life, to render appropriate a crusade in favor of universal celibacy.*

A Malthusian law there is, which cannot be set aside; though it may offer, except in limited localities, nowise the present threat which many have seemed to see in it. Sometime it must take effect, the result being, not of course that humanity will starve, or even any part of it, but that either additional restraint must be applied, or a lessening *per capita* plenty will induce vices and diseases to which enough will succumb to let the others continue. The picture of a world starved to death is no legitimate suggestion of Malthusianism.

We may, of course, sip more or less comfort from such observations as these:

1. Only about one-sixth the cultivable land of the world is as yet occupied.

2. Infinitely greater saving is possible than has ever been exercised thus far, no one enjoying less in consequence.

3. Though food-getting will become harder and harder, the getting of other things, and especially such as minister to our higher life, is to be easier and easier as the æons pass. Bread-winning may become 100 times as difficult as now; if manufacturing becomes the same degree easier, humanity will get its whole living with no greater difficulty than now.

But no other course of thought so approaches a refutation of Malthus as that most recently made familiar by Henry George and Prince Kropotkin. Food, says George, springs not from agriculture alone, and non-vegetable food may be multiplied almost without limit by the free agency of man.

"Both the jay-hawk and the man eat chickens, but the more jay-hawks the fewer chickens, while the more men the more chickens. Both the seal and the man eat salmon, but when a seal takes a salmon there is a salmon less, and were seals to increase past a certain point salmon must diminish; while by placing the spawn of the salmon under favorable conditions man can so increase the number of salmon as to more than make up for all he may take, and thus, no matter how much men may increase, their increase never need outrun the supply of salmon."

The late Spencer F. Baird used to regard one acre of water

* Or to what is worse, recommended by an author whom Schaeffle cites, '*Bau und Leben*,' II., 256 seqq.

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equal to seven of land in the production of food. Pressed with the consideration that chickens and salmon too must live upon food, of which the supply recedes, George rejoins that it cannot infinitely recede; that the universe of materials capable of sustaining life remains ever the same, however many times these materials may have aided in the sustenance of life up to any given date, and that the bounds of this universe have never yet been discovered. Kropotkin carries the thought into particulars, showing from examples and by the principles of chemistry the indefinite improvableness in the fertility of land.

Nothing could be more interesting than facts like these. They render it happily clear that, so far from approaching the limit of the earth's productivity, we have hardly broached it yet. There is to this planet an ability to bear life incalculably beyond what Malthus dreamed. But this, again, does not turn his contention into unreason. The anti-Malthusian line of argument just sketched is as illusory as it is interesting. It is very old as well—older, in fact, than Malthus. President James Madison in his younger days brilliantly explored it,* anticipating all the anti-Malthusians, and preceded Malthus and his aides in demonstrating its vanity.

Three hard facts confront us. One is that the earth's stock of substances capable of sustaining human life is, after all, limited. Another, that many of these are passing hopelessly beyond man's reach. The third is that such utilizing of plant nutrition as is intrinsically possible must forever increase in cost. Less and less fruitful soils must be brought into use, loam reclaimed from beneath the ocean, rocks pulverized, to make place for new land and the mechanical ingredients for artificial soil. And, at best, such soil cannot but be limited in amount, so expensive will be its manufacture. Kropotkin's cases can never be generalized, involving as they do the limitless carting of heavy stuffs from farms to towns and from towns to farms. This particular cause of decrease in agricultural returns will indeed weaken as population condenses, but cannot disappear, since people can never be scattered evenly over the land.

Meantime, the sons of men wax ever a greater host. Europe, with its 156 millions, increases by $\frac{7}{10}$ of one per cent. each year, threatening to have 600 millions by 1970, and 1,300 millions by

* Rives's "Life of Madison," vol. iii., 91, 94.

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2150. Our own country, adding to its numbers by nearly 3 per cent. a year, bids fair to approach 90 millions by 1900.

Could such growth possibly continue, the failure of standing room would be but a matter of time. The entire globe measures about 600,000,000,000,000 square yards, or, allowing a yard as standing room for four persons, there is place for 2,400,000,000,000,000 persons. Now the population of England and Wales, which may be regarded as about normal for civilized lands, doubled between 1801 and 1851. At this rate population would in 100 years multiply itself by 4; in 200 by 16; in 1,000 by 1,000,000; and in 3,000 years by 1,000,000,000,000,000,000. So that, even if we begin with a single pair, the increase would in 3,000 years have become two quintillion human beings: viz., to every square yard 3,333⅓ persons instead of four. Or, the earth would be covered with men in columns of 833⅓ each, standing on each other's heads. If they averaged five feet tall, each column would be 4,166⅔ feet high.*

One cannot look forward to the far future of civilized society without solicitude. Reflect that the present population of Europe could, through an increase no greater than that now prevailing, have sprung from a half million souls living at 400 A. D., and that there were then in Europe at least 100 times this number, and probably more; then sweep mentally over the intervening history, noting in wars and pestilences some of the causes why the figures for Europe to-day read 156 millions instead of 15 billions 600 millions, and you will no longer laugh at Malthus.

Are the checks which must be applied in future, likely to be positive or preventive? If the latter, shall they be morally preventive or immorally preventive? A more momentous this-world question could hardly be asked. Let the masses remain ignorant and brutish, and human life will forever continue in threatening disproportion to food, progress and poverty side by side, the comfort of a few shadowed by wars and want and sicknesses on the part of multitudes. Only as character shall prevail can coming generations fill the ideal of an earthly society: human beings numerous enough to work the great cosmic field to the best advantage, yet voluntarily few enough to admit of a reasonable and decent subsistence for all. For man's body as for his soul, for time as for eternity, his only hope lies in spiritual elevation.

E. B. ANDREWS,

*Marshall, "Economics of Industry," book I., chap. v.

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ERNEST RENAN.

BY COL. R. G. INGERSOLL.

"Blessed are those
Whose blood and judgment are so well co-mingled
That they are not a pipe for fortune's finger
To sound what stop she please."

ERNEST RENAN is dead. Another source of light; another force of civilization; another charming personality; another brave soul, graceful in thought, generous in deed; a sculptor in speech, a colorist in words—clothing all in the poetry born of a delightful union of heart and brain—has passed to the realm of rest.

Reared under the influences of Catholicism, educated for the priesthood, yet by reason of his natural genius, he began to think. Forces that utterly subjugate and enslave the mind of mediocrity sometimes rouse to thought and action the superior soul.

Renan began to think—a dangerous thing for a Catholic to do. Thought leads to doubt, doubt to investigation, investigation to truth—the enemy of all superstition.

He lifted the Catholic extinguisher from the light and flame of reason. He found that his mental vision was improved. He read the Scriptures for himself, examined them as he did other books not claiming to be inspired. He found the same mistakes, the same prejudices, the same miraculous impossibilities in the book attributed to God that he found in those known to have been written by men.

Into the path of reason, or rather into the highway, Renan was led by Henriette, his sister, to whom he pays a tribute that has the perfume of a perfect flower.

"I was," writes Renan, "brought up by women and priests, and therein lies the whole explanation of my good qualities and of my defects." In most that he wrote is the tenderness of

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woman, only now and then a little touch of the priest showing itself, mostly in a reluctance to spoil the ivy by tearing down some prison built by superstition.

In spite of the heartless "scheme" of things he still found it in his heart to say, "When God shall be complete, He will be just," at the same time saying that "nothing proves to us that there exists in the world a central consciousness—a soul of the universe—and nothing proves the contrary." So, whatever was the verdict of his brain, his heart asked for immortality. He wanted his dream, and he was willing that others should have theirs. Such is the wish and will of all great souls.

He knew the Church thoroughly and anticipated what would finally be written about him by churchmen: "Having some experience of ecclesiastical writers I can sketch out in advance the way my biography will be written in Spanish in some Catholic review, of Santa Fé, in the year 2,000. Heavens! how black I shall be! I shall be so all the more, because the Church when she feels that she is lost will end with malice. She will bite like a mad dog."

He anticipated such a biography because he had thought for himself, and because he had expressed his thoughts—because he had declared that "our universe, within the reach of our experiment is not governed by any intelligent reason. God, as the common herd understand him, the living God, the acting God—the God-Providence, does not show himself in the universe"—because he attacked the mythical and the miraculous in the life of Christ and sought to rescue from the calumnies of ignorance and faith a serene and lofty soul.

The time has arrived when Jesus must become a myth or a man. The idea that he was the infinite God must be abandoned by all who are not religiously insane. Those who have given up the claim that he was God, insist that he was divinely appointed and illuminated; that he was a perfect man—the highest possible type of the human race and, consequently, a perfect example for all the world.

As time goes on, as men get wider or grander or more complex ideas of life, as the intellectual horizon broadens, the idea that Christ was perfect may be modified.

The New Testament seems to describe several individuals under the same name, or at least one individual who passed

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through several stages or phases of religious development. Christ is described as a devout Jew, as one who endeavored to comply in all respects with the old law. Many sayings are attributed to him consistent with this idea. He certainly was a Hebrew in belief and feeling when he said "Swear not by Heaven, because it is God's throne, nor by earth, for it is His footstool; nor by Jerusalem, for it is His holy city." These reasons were in exact accordance with the mythology of the Jews. God was regarded simply as an enormous man, as one who walked in the garden in the cool of the evening, as one who had met man face to face, who had conversed with Moses for forty days upon Mount Sinai, as a great king, with a throne in the heavens, using the earth to rest his feet upon, and regarding Jerusalem as His holy city.

Then we find plenty of evidence that he wished to reform the religion of the Jews; to fulfil the law, not to abrogate it. Then there is still another change: he has ceased his efforts to reform that religion and has become a destroyer. He holds the Temple in contempt and repudiates the idea that Jerusalem is the holy city. He concludes that it is unnecessary to go to some mountain or some building to worship or to find God, and insists that the heart is the true Temple, that ceremonies are useless, that all pomp and pride and show are needless, and that it is enough to worship God under heaven's dome, in spirit and in truth.

It is impossible to harmonize these views unless we admit that Christ was the subject of growth and change; that in consequence of growth and change he modified his views; that, from wanting to preserve Judaism as it was, he became convinced that it ought to be reformed. That he then abandoned the idea of reformation, and made up his mind that the only reformation of which the Jewish religion was capable was destruction. If he was in fact a man, then the course he pursued was natural; but if he was God, it is perfectly absurd. If we give to him perfect knowledge, then it is impossible to account for change or growth. If, on the other hand, the ground is taken that he was a perfect man, then, it might be asked, Was he perfect when he wished to preserve, or when he wished to reform, or when he resolved to destroy, the religion of the Jews? If he is to be regarded as perfect, although not divine, when did he reach perfection?

It is perfectly evident that Christ, or the character that bears

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that name, imagined that the world was about to be destroyed, or at least purified by fire, and that, on account of this curious belief, he became the enemy of marriage, of all earthly ambition and of all enterprise. With that view in his mind, he said to himself, "Why should we waste our energies in producing food for destruction? Why should we endeavor to beautify a world that is so soon to perish?" Filled with the thought of coming change, he insisted that there was but one important thing, and that was for each man to save his soul. He should care nothing for the ties of kindred, nothing for wife or child or property, in the shadow of the coming disaster. He should take care of himself. He endeavored, as it is said, to induce men to desert all they had, to let the dead bury the dead, and follow him. He told his disciples, or those he wished to make his disciples, according to the Testament, that it was their duty to desert wife and child and property, and if they would so desert kindred and wealth, he would reward them here and hereafter.

We know now—if we know anything—that Jesus was mistaken about the coming of the end, and we know now that he was greatly controlled in his ideas of life, by that mistake. Believing that the end was near, he said, "Take no thought for the morrow, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink or wherewithal ye shall be clothed." It was in view of the destruction of the world that he called the attention of his disciples to the lily that toiled not and yet excelled Solomon in the glory of its raiment. Having made this mistake, having acted upon it, certainly we cannot now say that he was perfect in knowledge.

He is regarded by many millions as the impersonation of patience, of forbearance, of meekness and mercy, and yet, according to the account, he said many extremely bitter words, and threatened eternal pain.

We also know, if the account be true, that he claimed to have supernatural power, to work miracles, to cure the blind and to raise the dead, and we know that he did nothing of the kind. So if the writers of the New Testament tell the truth as to what Christ claimed, it is absurd to say that he was a perfect man. If honest, he was deceived, and those who are deceived are not perfect.

There is nothing in the New Testament, so far as we know, that touches on the duties of nation to nation, or of nation to its citizens; nothing of human liberty; not one word about educa-

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tion; not the faintest hint that there is such a thing as science; nothing calculated to stimulate industry, commerce, or invention; not one word in favor of art, of music or anything calculated to feed or clothe the body, nothing to develop the brain of man.

When it is assumed that the life of Christ, as described in the New Testament, is perfect, we at least take upon ourselves the burden of deciding what perfection is. People who asserted that Christ was divine, that he was actually God, reached the conclusion, without any laborious course of reasoning, that all he said and did was absolute perfection. They said this because they had first been convinced that he was divine. The moment his divinity is given up and the assertion is made that he was perfect, we are not permitted to reason in that way. They said he was God, therefore perfect. Now, if it is admitted that he was human, the conclusion that he was perfect does not follow. We then take the burden upon ourselves of deciding what perfection is. To decide what is perfect is beyond the powers of the human mind.

Renan, in spite of his education, regarded Christ as a man, and did the best he could to account for the miracles that had been attributed to him, for the legends that had gathered about his name, and the impossibilities connected with his career, and also tried to account for the origin or birth of these miracles, of these legends, of these myths, including the resurrection and ascension. I am not satisfied with all the conclusions he reached or with all the paths he travelled. The refraction of light caused by passing through a woman's tears is hardly a sufficient foundation for a belief in so miraculous a miracle as the bodily ascension of Jesus Christ.

There is another thing attributed to Christ that seems to me conclusive evidence against the claim of perfection. Christ is reported to have said that all sins could be forgiven except the sin against the Holy Ghost. This sin, however, is not defined. Although Christ died for the whole world, that through him all might be saved, there is this one terrible exception: There is no salvation for those who have sinned, or who may hereafter sin, against the Holy Ghost. Thousands of persons are now in asylums, having lost their reason because of their fear that they had committed this unknown, this undefined, this unpardonable sin.

It is said that a Roman Emperor went through a form of publishing his laws or proclamations, posting them so high on pillars

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that they could not be read, and then took the lives of those who ignorantly violated these unknown laws. He was regarded as a tyrant, as a murderer. And yet, what shall we say of one who declared that the sin against the Holy Ghost was the only one that could not be forgiven, and then left an ignorant world to guess what that sin is? Undoubtedly this horror is an interpolation.

There is something like it in the Old Testament. It is asserted by Christians that the Ten Commandments are the foundation of all law and of all civilization, and you will find lawyers insisting that the Mosaic Code was the first information that man received on the subject of law; that before that time the world was without any knowledge of justice or mercy. If this be true the Jews had no divine laws, no real instruction on any legal subject until the Ten Commandments were given. Consequently, before that time there had been proclaimed or published no law against the worship of other gods or of idols. Moses had been on Mount Sinai talking with Jehovah. At the end of the dialogue he received the Tables of Stone and started down the mountain for the purpose of imparting this information to his followers. When he reached the camp he heard music. He saw people dancing, and he found that in his absence Aaron and the rest of the people had cast a molten calf which they were then worshipping. This so enraged Moses that he broke the Tables of Stone and made preparations for the punishment of the Jews. Remember that they knew nothing about this law, and, according to the modern Christian claims, could not have known that it was wrong to melt gold and silver and mould it in the form of a calf. And yet Moses killed about thirty thousand of these people for having violated a law of which they had never heard; a law known only to one man and one God. Nothing could be more unjust, more ferocious, than this; and yet it can hardly be said to exceed in cruelty the announcement that a certain sin was unpardonable and then fail to define the sin. Possibly, to inquire what the sin is, is the sin.

Renan regards Jesus as a man, and his work gets its value from the fact that it is written from a human standpoint. At the same time he, consciously or unconsciously, or may be for the purpose of sprinkling a little holy water on the heat of religious indignation, now and then seems to speak of him as more than human, or as having accomplished something that man could not.

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He asserts that "the Gospels are in part legendary; that they contain many things not true; that they are full of miracles and of the supernatural." At the same time he insists that these legends, these miracles, these supernatural things do not affect the truth of the probable things contained in these writings. He sees, and sees clearly, that there is no evidence that Matthew, or Mark, or Luke, or John wrote the books attributed to them; that, as a matter of fact, the mere title of "according to Matthew," "according to Mark," shows that they were written by others who claimed them to be in accordance with the stories that had been told by Matthew or by Mark. So Renan takes the ground that the Gospel of Luke is founded on anterior documents and "is the work of a man who selected, pruned and combined, and that the same man wrote the Acts of the Apostles and in the same way."

The Gospels were certainly written long after the events described, and Renan finds the reason for this in the fact that the Christians believed that the world was about to end; that, consequently, there was no need of composing books; it was only necessary for them to preserve in their hearts during the little margin of time that remained a lively image of Him whom they soon expected to meet in the clouds. For this reason the Gospels themselves had but little authority for 150 years, the Christians relying on oral traditions. Renan shows that there was not the slightest scruple about inserting additions in the Gospels, variously combining them, and in completing some by taking parts from others; that the books passed from hand to hand, and that each one transcribed in the margin of his copy the words and parables he had found elsewhere which touched him; that it was not until human tradition became weakened that the text bearing the names of the Apostles became authoritative.

Renan has criticised the Gospels somewhat in the same spirit that he would criticise a modern work. He saw clearly that the metaphysics filling the discourses of John were deformities and distortions, full of mysticism, having nothing to do really with the character of Jesus. He shows too "that the simple idea of the Kingdom of God, at the time the Gospel according to St. John was written, had faded away; that the hope of the advent of Christ was growing dim, and that from belief the Disciples passed into discussion, from discussion to dogma, from dogma to ceremony," and, finding that the new Heaven and the new Earth were

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not coming as expected, they turned their attention to governing the old Heaven and the old Earth. The Disciples were willing to be humble for a few days, with the expectation of wearing crowns forever. They were satisfied with poverty, believing that the wealth of the world was to be theirs. The coming of Christ, however, being for some unaccountable reason delayed, poverty and humility grew irksome, and human nature began to assert itself.

In the Gospel of John you will find the metaphysics of the Church. There you find the Second Birth. There you find the doctrine of the Atonement clearly set forth. There you find that God died for the whole world, and that whosoever believeth not in Him is to be damned. There is nothing of the kind in Matthew. Matthew makes Christ say that, if you will forgive others, God will forgive you. The Gospel "according to Mark" is the same. So is the Gospel "according to Luke." There is nothing about salvation through belief, nothing about the Atonement. In Mark, in the last chapter, the Apostles are told to go into all the world and preach the Gospel, with the statement that whoever believed and was baptised should be saved, and whoever failed to believe should be damned. But we now know that that is an interpolation. Consequently, Matthew, Mark, and Luke never had the faintest conception of the "Christian religion." They knew nothing of the Atonement, nothing of salvation by faith—nothing. So that, if a man had read only Matthew, Mark and Luke, and had strictly followed what he found, he would have found himself, after death, in perdition.

Renan finds that certain portions of the Gospel "according to John" were added later; that the entire twenty-first chapter is an interpolation; also that many places bear the traces of erasures and corrections. So he says that it would be "impossible for any one to compose a life of Jesus, with any meaning in it, from the discourses which John attributes to him, and he holds that this Gospel of John is full of preaching, Christ demonstrating himself; full of argumentation, full of stage effect, devoid of simplicity, with long arguments after each miracle, stiff and awkward discourses, the tone of which is often false and unequal." He also insists that there are evidently "artificial portions, variations like that of a musician improvising on a given theme."

In spite of all this, Renan, willing to soothe the prejudice of

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his time, takes the ground that the four canonical gospels are authentic, that they date from the first century, that the authors were, generally speaking, those to whom they are attributed; but he insists that their historic value is very diverse. This is a back-handed stroke. Admitting, first, that they are authentic; second, that they were written about the end of the first century; third, that they are not of equal value, disposes, so far as he is concerned, of the dogma of inspiration.

One is at a loss to undertand why four Gospels should have been written. As a matter of fact there can be only one true account of any occurrence, or of any number of occurrences. Now, it must be taken for granted, that an inspired account is true. Why then should there be four inspired accounts? It may be answered that all were not to write the entire story. To this the reply is that all attempted to cover substantially the same ground.

Many years ago the early fathers thought it necessary to say why there were four inspired books, and some of them said, because there were four cardinal directions and the Gospels fitted the north, south, east and west. Others said that there were four principal winds—a gospel for each wind. They might have added that some animals have four legs.

Renan admits that the narrative portions have not the same authority; "that many legends proceeded from the zeal of the second Christian generation; that the narrative of Luke is historically weak; that sentences attributed to Jesus have been distorted and exaggerated; that the book was written outside of Palestine and after the siege of Jerusalem; that Luke endeavors to make the different narratives agree, changing them for that purpose; that he softens the passages which had become embarrassing; that he exaggerated the marvellous, omitted errors in chronology; that he was a compiler, a man who had not been an eye-witness himself, and who had not seen eye-witnesses, but who labors at texts and wrests their sense to make them agree." This certainly is very far from inspiration. So "Luke interprets the documents according to his own idea; being a kind of anarchist, opposed to property, and persuaded that the triumph of the poor was approaching; that he was especially fond of the anecdotes showing the conversion of sinners, the exaltation of the humble, and that he modified ancient traditions to give them this meaning."

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Renan reached the conclusion that the Gospels are neither biographies after the manner of Suetonius nor fictitious legends in the style of Philostratus, but that they are legendary biographies like the legends of the saints, the lives of Plotinus and Isidore, in which historical truth and the desire to present models of virtue are combined in various degrees; that they are "inexact;" that they "contain numerous errors and discordances." So he takes the ground that twenty or thirty years after Christ His reputation had greatly increased, that "legends had begun to gather about Him like clouds," that "death added to His perfection, freeing Him from all defects in the eyes of those who had loved Him, that His followers wrested the prophecies so that they might fit Him. They said, 'He is the Messiah.' The Messiah was to do certain things; therefore Jesus did certain things. Then an account would be given of the doing." All of which of course shows that there can be maintained no theory of inspiration.

It is admitted that where individuals are witnesses of the same transaction, and where they agree upon the vital points and disagree upon details, the disagreement may be consistent with their honesty, as tending to show that they have not agreed upon a story; but if the witnesses are inspired of God then there is no reason for their disagreeing on anything, and if they do disagree it is a demonstration that they were not inspired, but it is not a demonstration that they are not honest. While perfect agreement may be evidence of rehearsal, a failure to perfectly agree is not a demonstration of the truth or falsity of a story; but if the witnesses claim to be inspired, the slightest disagreement is a demonstration that they were not inspired.

Renan reaches the conclusion, proving every step that he takes, that the four principal documents—that is to say, the four Gospels—are in "flagrant contradiction one with another." He attacks, and with perfect success, the miracles of the Scriptures, and upon this subject says: "Observation, which has never once been falsified, teaches us that miracles never happen, but in times and countries in which they are believed and before persons disposed to believe them. No miracle ever occurred in the presence of men capable of testing its miraculous character." He further takes the ground that no contemporary miracle will bear inquiry, and that consequently it is probable that the miracles of antiquity

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which have been performed in popular gatherings would be shown to be simple illusion, were it possible to criticise them in detail. In the name of universal experience he banishes miracles from history. These were brave things to do, things that will bear good fruit. As long as men believe in miracles, past or present, they remain the prey of superstition. The Catholic is taught that miracles were performed anciently not only, but that they are still being performed. This is consistent inconsistency. Protestants teach a double doctrine: That miracles used to be performed, that the laws of nature used to be violated, but that no miracle is performed now. No Protestant will admit that any miracle was performed by the Catholic Church. Otherwise, Protestants could not be justified in leaving a church with whom the God of miracles dwelt. So every Protestant has to adopt two kinds of reasoning: that the laws of Nature used to be violated and that miracles used to be performed, but that since the apostolic age Nature has had her way and the Lord has allowed facts to exist and to hold the field. A supernatural account, according to Renan, "always implies credulity or imposture"—probably both.

It does not seem possible to me that Christ claimed for himself what the Testament claims for him. These claims were made by admirers, by followers, by missionaries.

When the early Christians went to Rome they found plenty of demigods. It was hard to set aside the religion of a demigod by telling the story of a man from Nazareth. These missionaries, not to be outdone in ancestry, insisted—and this was after the Gospel "according to St. John" had been written—that Christ was the Son of God. Matthew believed that he was the son of David, and the Messiah, and gave the genealogy of Joseph, his father, to support that claim.

In the time of Christ no one imagined that he was of divine origin. This was an after-growth. In order to place themselves on an equality with Pagans they started the claim of divinity, and also took the second step requisite in that country: First, a god for his father, and second, a virgin for his mother. This was the Pagan combination of greatness, and the Christians added to this that Christ was God.

It is hard to agree with the conclusion reached by Renan, that Christ formed and intended to form a church. Such evidence, it seems to me, is hard to find in the Testament. Christ seemed to

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satisfy himself, according to the Testament, with a few statements, some of them exceedingly wise and tender, some utterly impracticable and some intolerant.

If we accept the conclusions reached by Renan we will throw away, the legends without foundation; the miraculous legends; and everything inconsistent with what we know of Nature. Very little will be left—a few sayings to be found among those attributed to Confucius, to Buddha, to Krishna, to Epictetus, to Zeno, and to many others. Some of these sayings are full of wisdom, full of kindness, and others rush to such extremes that they touch the borders of insanity. When struck on one cheek to turn the other, is really joining a conspiracy to secure the triumph of brutality. To agree not to resist evil is to become an accomplice of all injustice. We must not take from industry, from patriotism, from virtue the right of self-defence.

Undoubtedly Renan gave an honest transcript of his mind, the road his thought had followed, the reasons in their order that had occurred to him, the criticisms born of thought, and the qualifications, softening phrases, children of old sentiments and of emotions that had not entirely passed away. He started, one might say, from the altar and, during a considerable part of the journey, carried the incense with him. The farther he got away, the greater was his clearness of vision and the more thoroughly he was convinced that Christ was merely a man, an idealist. But, remembering the altar, he excused exaggeration in the "inspired" books, not because it was from heaven, not because it was in harmony with our ideas of veracity, but because the writers of the Gospel were imbued with the Oriental spirit of exaggeration, a spirit perfectly understood by the people who first read the Gospels, because the readers knew the habits of the writers.

It had been contended for many years that no one could pass judgment on the veracity of the Scriptures who did not understand Hebrew. This position was perfectly absurd. No man needs to be a student of Hebrew to know that the shadow on the dial did not go back several degrees to convince a petty king that a boil was not to be fatal. Renan, however, filled the requirement. He was an excellent Hebrew scholar. This was a fortunate circumstance, because it answered a very old objection.

The founder of Christianity was, for his own sake, taken from the divine pedestal and allowed to stand like other men on the

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earth, to be judged by what he said and did, by his theories, by his philosophy, by his spirit.

No matter whether Renan came to a correct conclusion or not, his work did a vast deal of good. He convinced many that implicit reliance could not be placed upon the Gospels, that the Gospels themselves are of unequal worth; that they were deformed by ignorance and falsehood, or, at least, by mistake; that if they wished to save the reputation of Christ they must not rely wholly on the Gospels, or on what is found in the New Testament, but they must go farther and examine all legends touching him. Not only so, but they must throw away the miraculous, the impossible and the absurd.

He also has shown that the early followers of Christ endeavored to add to the reputation of their Master by attributing to him the miraculous and the foolish; that while these stories added to his reputation at that time, since the world has advanced they must be cast aside or the reputation of the Master must suffer.

It will not do now to say that Christ himself pretended to do miracles. This would establish the fact at least that he was mistaken. But we are compelled to say that his disciples insisted that he was a worker of miracles. This shows, either that they were mistaken or untruthful.

We all know that a sleight-of-hand performer could gain a greater reputation among savages than Darwin or Humboldt; and we know that the world in the time of Christ was filled with barbarians, with people who demanded the miraculous, who expected it; with people, in fact, who had a stronger belief in the supernatural than in the natural; people who never thought it worth while to record facts. The hero of such people, the Christ of such people, with his miracles, cannot be the Christ of the thoughtful and scientific.

Renan was a man of most excellent temper; candid; not striving for victory, but for truth; conquering, as far as he could, the old superstitions; not entirely free, it may be, but believing himself to be so. He did great good. He has helped to destroy the fictions of faith. He has helped to rescue man from the prison of superstition, and this is the greatest benefit that man can bestow on man.

He did another great service, not only to Jews, but to Chris-

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tendom, by writing the history of "The People of Israel." Christians for many centuries have persecuted the Jews. They have charged them with the greatest conceivable crime—with having crucified an infinite God. This absurdity has hardened the hearts of men and poisoned the minds of children. The persecution of the Jews is the meanest, the most senseless and cruel page in history. Every civilized Christian should feel on his cheeks the red spots of shame as he reads the wretched and infamous story. The flame of this prejudice is fanned and fed in the Sunday-schools of our day, and the orthodox minister points proudly to the atrocities perpetrated against the Jews by the barbarians of Russia as evidences of the truth of the inspired Scriptures. In every wound God puts a tongue to proclaim the truth of his book.

If the charge that the Jews killed God were true, it is hardly reasonable to hold those who are now living responsible for what their ancestors did nearly nineteen centuries ago.

But there is another point in connection with this matter: If Christ was God, then the Jews could not have killed him without his consent; and, according to the orthodox creed, if he had not been sacrificed, the whole world would have suffered eternal pain. Nothing can exceed the meanness of the prejudice of Christians against the Jewish people. They should not be held responsible for their savage ancestors, or for their belief that Jehovah was an intelligent and merciful God, superior to all other gods. Even Christians do not wish to be held responsible for the Inquisition, for the Torquemadas and the John Calvins, for the witch-burners and the Quaker-whippers, for the slave-traders and child-stealers, the most of whom were believers in our "glorious gospel," and many of whom had been born the second time.

Renan did much to civilize the Christians by telling the truth in a charming and convincing way about the "People of Israel." Both sides are greatly indebted to him: one he has ably defended, and the other greatly enlightened.

Having done what good he could in giving what he believed was light to his fellow men, he had no fear of becoming a victim of God's wrath, and so he laughingly said: "For my part I imagine that if the Eternal in his severity were to send me to hell I should succeed in escaping from it. I would send up to my Creator a supplication that would make him smile. The course of reasoning by which I would prove to him that it was through

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his fault that I was damned would be so subtle that he would find some difficulty in replying. The fate which would suit me best is Purgatory—a charming place, where many delightful romances begun on earth must be continued."

Such cheerfulness, such good philosophy, with cap and bells, such banter and blasphemy, such sound and solid sense drive to madness the priest who thinks the curse of Rome can fright the world. How the snake of superstition writhes when he finds that his fangs have lost their poison.

He was one of the gentlest of men—one of the fairest in discussion, dissenting from the views of others with modesty, presenting his own with clearness and candor. His mental manners were excellent. He was not positive as to the "unknowable." He said "Perhaps." He knew that knowledge is good if it increases the happiness of man; and he felt that superstition is the assassin of liberty and civilization. He lived a life of cheerfulness, of industry, devoted to the welfare of mankind. He was a seeker of happiness by the highway of the natural, a destroyer of the dogmas of mental deformity, a worshipper of Liberty and the Ideal. As he lived, he died—hopeful and serene—and now, standing in imagination by his grave, we ask: Will the night be eternal? The brain says, Perhaps; while the heart hopes for the Dawn.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

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EUROPE AT THE WORLD'S FAIR.

GERMANY, BY W. H. EDWARDS, CONSUL-GENERAL AT BERLIN;
RUSSIA, BY J M. CRAWFORD, CONSUL-GENERAL
AT ST. PETERSBURG.

I.—GERMANY.

THE Fatherland will be well represented at the Chicago Exposition.

For nearly a year past has the indefatigable Imperial Commissioner, Privy Council Wermuth, devoted all his time, as well as that of numerous assistants, to this work, and his efforts are gradually shaping and finishing the work into the grandest and most thorough display that German industries and arts ever made at any foreign exhibition.

The German Government early recognized the importance of the occasion. The great commercial relations of the two countries, as well as the ties of blood and friendship, which have ever drawn them together, forbid anything but the most hearty participation in the American enterprise.

Herr Wermuth, who had already proved his capacity for such work at the Australian World's Fair, was chosen to take charge of the matter. He went to Chicago last fall, consulted with the authorities of the Fair, and then returned to Germany to commence work in earnest. The German Government proposed, and the Reichstag granted, a subsidy of one million marks, which was soon followed by an additional grant of two million marks, thus making a total amount of three million marks ($750,000) available.

There were, at first, some slight objections on the part of certain industries and in various localities against the Fair, but these were overcome by the persistent efforts of the Commissioner, assisted by the Government. The Kaiser himself, who, indeed, had always shown a marked liking for America, took every oppor-

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tunity to promote the enterprise, so that to-day every department of German life and industry is engaged in preparations for the Chicago Exhibition. Some 250,000 square feet of floor space will in all departments be taken up by German exhibits. The Industrial Building will be occupied to the extent of 100,000 square feet, and in the Machinery Hall, 30,000 or 40,000 ; in the Art Building, 20,000; and in the Electric Building, 20,000 square feet, will be needed. Similar spaces are required in the Agricultural and Horticultural Halls and the Department of Mining.

The Railway and Transportation Department will also be thoroughly represented. One of the chief, if not the main, exhibition of German skill and industry will be made in the textile branch. The celebrated hosiery and glove manufactures of Chemnitz, its "fast black" dyes, and its great carpet manufactures will be thoroughly represented. Crefeld will contribute silks, satins, and velvets ; Plauen and Greiz, cloths, dress materials, and diagonal goods ; Zittau will show its laces, and Annaberg its embroideries. Linen goods from Bielefeld and from Silesia, the celebrated cloth factories on both sides of the Rhine, and the manufactures of Alsace will all add to the display.

Musical instruments will come from all over Germany—Plauen, Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden ; in fact, all the centres of the musical trade will send their products. The exhibition of chemicals and dyes will be very profuse. Drugs to cure the sick, dyes for industrial purposes, chemicals of every description and in the great variety required by modern life, will be shown.

The iron and steel industry of the great Westphalia and Rhenish manufacturing centres are making efforts for proper representation. Machines of every sort, those adapted to the peaceful pursuits of mankind, as well as the monster engines of war, will be exhibited. Another great display will be that of industrial art, which has obtained great proportions in Germany. The famous porcelain of Berlin and Dresden, the industrial art products of Munich, Carlsruhe, and Hanover will be sent to Chicago in large quantities and wonderful variety.

Art itself, painting and sculpture will be worthily represented. The art academies and artists' societies of Berlin, Munich, Dusseldorf, Weimar and Dresden are preparing exhibits.

The purposes of science will be served by a large display of optical and scientific instruments and wares. While the more

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serious work of life will show itself in these numerous departments, childhood will be made happy by a display of toys from the Erzgebirge, from Sonneberg and historical Nuremberg. The cheapest, as well as the most costly and intricate toys which Germany produces, will be found in this department.

The German Government has issued orders to the mining officers to send in all the fine specimens of minerals obtainable. It expects to have a great mineralogical collection on view.

Agriculture will be represented by agricultural machinery, specimens of grains, grasses, seeds, fruits, and wines. The preserved fruits of Germany, so justly celebrated, the beet-sugar of Magdeburg and other agricultural products of Germany will be exhibited. It is also proposed to send over specimens of the fine horses and cattle of the German marshes and of Holstein. The sight-seer, wearied of the day work, can turn for rest, and possibly, refreshment, to the department where the grand wines of the Rhine and Main and the golden fluid of the Moselle, as well as the famous brews of Munich and the foaming weissbeer of Berlin, are exhibited.

In the electrical department the scientific discoveries of Helmholtz and Siemens, made subservient to the uses of industrial and every day life, will be exhibited.

One of the most interesting features of the German display will be the Department of Woman's Work. Her Royal Highness Princess Frederick Charles has consented to act as lady patroness of this department. Ladies of the highest social standing, such as Countess Pückler; Frau von Schelling, wife of the Minister of Justice; Frau Delbrück, the wife of ex-Minister Delbrück, are giving their names and assistance to the work. The business organization is in the hands of Frau Schepeler-Lette, President of the famous "Lette Verein," which has done so much for the advancement of women in Germany. She will be assisted by Fräulein von Keüdell, of the "Verein Berliner Künstlerinnen;" Frau Director Schrader, of the "Pestalozzi–Fröbel Verein;" Fräulein Louise Fuhrmann; Fräulein von Cotta, of the Victoria Lyceum;" Fräulein Helene Lange; Frau Louisa Morgenstern, and by many other shining lights of German womanhood. The department will be divided into four subdivisions, which will show the work of women in art, education, domestic work, social and Verein work, in the work of charity and of children's care and

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education. It will also show the workings of the Kindergarten system and of the Fresh Air Fund, as they are carried on in Germany. Altogether the "Women's Department" will be a grand display of womanly work and practical humanity.

The German government will construct a separate building at the fair grounds to represent Germany and to serve as a central point for the German interests. Commissioner Wermuth will have his office in this building. A feature of the German exhibition will be the "German Village of the Middle Ages," which will be built on the "Midway Plaisance" under the auspices of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin. It will show the architecture and home life of the German peasants of that period and also the household industries and German village life of the present day.

I have merely drawn the outlines of the German exhibits. It would far exceed the scope of this article to enter into a detailed description of each separate department or to describe any individual exhibit. While much remains to be done, yet the work is crystallizing into perfect shape, and there is no doubt that Germany will have reason to be proud of her exhibits.

W. H. EDWARDS,
Consul-General.

II.—RUSSIA.

IT MAY interest the people of the United States to know that Russia will make a magnificent display of their industries at Chicago in 1893. Everything has been done that can be done by the Central government at St. Petersburg to induce manufacturers and producers to take part in the great American enterprise. Thanks to the timely visit of the World's Fair Commissioners to St. Petersburg in the summer of 1891, His Excellency the Minister of Finance was induced to look upon the Columbian Exposition with marked favor. Largely due to his report, His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor, gave an order that all expenses whatsoever necessary to make a full and favorable exhibit of Russian goods at Chicago should be paid out of the Imperial Treasury. These expenses may be summarized as follows:

1. Transportation from St. Petersburg to Chicago and return of all goods regarded worthy of exhibition.

2. Insurance of all such wares against loss or damage on sea or on land.

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3. Expenses of installation and decorations of the goods of the Russian section, including suitable show-cases and furniture.

4. As all goods designed for the Exposition must be collected at St. Petersburg, it has been ordered that all steamboat and railway companies in the Empire shall reduce their tariff 50 per cent. on all such exhibits, from all inland points of European or Asiatic Russia to St. Petersburg.

It will thus be seen that Russian exhibitors will have practically no expense in order to expose their products at Chicago.

In order to guarantee the success of the Russian section of the World's Fair, His Imperial Majesty, in a ukase, has appointed a special commission to take entire charge of the work of promoting a first-class exhibit. The members of this commission may be named in the following order :

President : Privy Councellor of State, M. Alexis Baer.

Vice-President : Basile Timiriasoff, Councillor of State, and Vice-Director of the Imperial Board of Trade and Manufacturing.

Active members : Councillor of State Nicolai Zabouguin, and Vice-Director of the Department of Customs ; Councillor of State Valerian Tchernaieff, of the Ministry of Domains ; Councillor of State A. Pletnieff, of the Cabinet of His Imperial Majesty ; Councillor of State Nicolai Labsine, Professor of the Imperial Technological Institute ; Councillor of State Alexander Dabronitsky ; Councillor of State and Secretary of the General Commission Alexis Kobeliatsky ; Privy Councillor Leonide Verchoutseff, of the Ministry of War ; Central Admiral Stephane Makaroff, of the Ministry of Marine ; Councillor of State Charles de St. Mère, of the Ministry of Public Instruction ; and the Secretary of the Imperial Academy, Count Jean Tolstoi, together with Demetrius Yourieff, as representatives of the Academy of Fine Arts.

All of the leading manufacturers of the Russian Empire, European and Asiatic, as well as the Committees of Exchange in the several cities of Russia, all the Boards of Trade and Manufacture, the Governors of all the provinces, have been officially requested to make propaganda in their respective districts urging an active participation in the Columbian Exposition. The Governors-General of very distant districts, as for example, the Caucasus, Siberia, Turkestan, Finland, etc., have received due orders from the government to use every effort to aid the Imperial

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Commission at St. Petersburg in this great enterprise. Special invitations have been sent to the Archæological, Historical and the other scientific institutions to take part. In fact, every department of Russian interest and industry will be fully represented.

One may be able to judge something of the magnitude of the Russian exhibit from the following summary of the different branches of the Imperial Government that will be represented :

1. The exhibit under the Department of Public Domains, under which belong coal and iron exhibits, petroleum districts, agriculture, forestry, fishing and the like.
2. Exhibits of the War Department.
3. Exhibits of the Navy Department.
4. Exhibits of Public Instruction.
5. Exhibits of the Department of Appanage.
6. Exhibits of Ways and Communications.

Conforming to the request of the directors of the World's Fair the model of the first ship of the Russian fleet, built by Peter the Great, will be an attractive feature of the Russian section. The Ministry of Navy has decided, under special application, to send a large number of models of the Russian fleet to Chicago. Sketches and models of ships specially constructed for the transport of petroleum will also be on exhibition.

The Ministry of War is preparing a fine collection of various military objects, made in the factories and workshops of Russia, and a complete set of the military works edited by the War Scientific Department will be sent to Chicago.

The Ministry of Public Domains will exhibit a complete collection of the agricultural products of Russia, including all sorts of fruit, vegetables, cereals, wood, and the products of the stone and metal mills, as well as the fisheries belonging to the Government. It is intended to make the agricultural branch of the Russian section as complete as possible, that planters and dealers in agricultural products and implements may have an opportunity to judge from personal observation of the state of Russian farming, especially as to such articles as are exported by both countries.

The Ministry of Public Instruction is taking great pains to furnish to the visitors of the World's Fair a correct idea of the present state of public schools in Russia, covering elementary school work, as well as that of the academies, colleges, technical and professional schools, gymnasiums and universities.

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The Department of Appanage will exhibit wines in great variety, in bottles and in casks, from the immense vineyards of the Emperor, and situated in the Caucasus, Crimea and Bessarabia.

A Special Commission has been appointed under the supervision of the Ministry of Finance to make a complete exhibit of the industrial products of the factories of all grades in the Empire, especially of such as come within the realm of the Ministry of Public and Private Domains.

As regards exhibits of private merchants and manufacturers, I am able to state, from personal observation, that a very general participation may be confidently expected, covering almost every form of Russian wares, such as enamelled silver, so justly celebrated throughout the world for its artistic designs and beautiful workmanship; Russian bronzes, papier-maché, vases of Siberian stones in every variety, hand-wrought rugs and carpets, portieres, and hangings; silken, linen, cotton, woollen and silver fabrics; Orenburg shawls of such fineness that a shawl of fifteen feet square may be easily drawn through a finger-ring, leathern embroideries in silk, and silver, and gold in Oriental splendor; fur articles, among which will be found some of the finest examples of Russian sable and Kamtchatka beaver and silver fox; glass, and porcelain, and terra-cotta wares from the Caucasus; samovars and copper goods, iron bronzes in beautiful and artistic designs for house decoration; Turkish, Caucasian, and Arabic house ornaments; costumes of the different provinces, royal and peasant costumes of the several reigns, together with imperial decorations and fashions under the different emperors, some of which reach back to the time of the czars; church robes and decorations.

Textile, gold, silver, copper and bronze manufactures, sugar, distilleries, petroleum, agricultural products, and all other great industries of Russia, will be represented both by the government, and by private producers. The owners of coal mines in the government of Ekaterinoslav will exhibit a number of pyramids to show the increase of the coal industry in the Donez-district during the last twenty years. These pyramids will show the one-millionth part of the actual output from the years 1850, 1870 and 1890. The first pyramid will weigh a half pood (18 lbs.), and will represent an output of 500,000 poods in 1850; the second will weigh 15½ poods, and represent in 1870, an output of 15,500,000 poods; and the third will weigh 150 poods, representing in 1890, an output of coal of

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150,000,000 poods. In order to give some idea of the amount of coal thus represented, models of the largest Eyptian pyramids will be exhibited in the same proportion, and the latter will seem, in comparison to the coal-pyramids of Russia, like mere toys.

Largely the result of an earnest appeal made in a beautifully worded and model letter written by Mrs. Potter Palmer to Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress, a Board of Lady Commissioners has been appointed of which Mrs. Vitznigratsky, wife of the late Minister of Finance, is the president. Madame Narishkine, one of the first ladies of influence in the empire, is a very active member of this Commission, and she has assured me that a very complete exhibit of woman's work will be made. A set of dolls dressed to represent the fashions of the several Imperial Courts of Russia from the time of the czars to the present day, and also a set of dolls dressed to represent the national costumes of the peasantry of European and Asiatic Russia, will be an interesting feature of the Woman's Department. This department will contain all forms of drawn-linen work, laces in linen and silk, embroideries in gold, silver and silk, books, music, paintings, prison-work, school-work, patented inventions and peasant-work ; in short, everything that woman has done in Russia will be exhibited.

The exhibition of art in all its branches will be very fine, under the supervision of Count Jean Tolstoi. The great marine artist, Aivanousky, will exhibit several paintings relative to the discovery of America by Columbus. I have seen many of the pictures to be sent by the Russian School of Art to Chicago, and the collection will be excellent. Such artists as Verestchagin, Makovsky, Reiper, Schiskin, and Gruzinsky will also be duly represented, and will surprise many a connoisseur of art. Those who are able to recall the splendid exhibit of Russia at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia will be somewhat prepared to find an exhibit at Chicago vastly more varied and magnificent than that.

The evident feeling of genuine friendship, shown by the Russian, of whatever class or creed, for America or Americans, and which has become intensified greatly by the humane contributions of the American people to the sufferers of Russia during the past year, has done much to further interest in this empire in the World's Columbian Exposition.

J. M. CRAWFORD.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

OBJECTIONS TO THEATRICAL LIFE.

In the face of convincing evidence of the significant financial importance of the theatre, and in spite of the homage to the beauties and the merits of dramatic art, popular sentiment exclaims against acting as a calling.

Why?

In the United States fifty thousand persons depend upon the stage for a livelihood. When it is also remembered that there are in the United States not more than six established stock companies, and that only about five hundred out of these fifty thousand persons can be given stationary—non-travelling—engagements, the problem of the private life of the remaining forty-nine thousand five hundred becomes an interesting one.

While it is widely recognized that the mode of existence of the strolling player is such as to test to the utmost both the strength and the weakness of human nature, intelligent acquaintance with the causes that make it so is limited.

The promiscuous companionships encouraged by the limited numbers of a travelling theatrical company, and the intense strain imposed by continuous travel, are issues of the enforced mutability of the life from which result many of its difficulties and failures.

Systematic habits of living—the desirable adjuncts of all correct conduct—become impossible. And herein lurks a serious and subtle danger, for men's morality is as often attributable to the regular routine which the occupation of their daily lives renders necessary as to inherent righteousness. A business which forces a man to breakfast at nine to-day, at eleven to-morrow, and makes his dinner his breakfast the day after, will soon render easy for him other irregularities in no way related to gastronomy.

The difficulty which the travelling actor experiences in establishing a place of residence, without doubt dwarfs his interest in many matters which are to men in other callings of vital importance. He seldom possesses a fixed value in any community, and in consequence occupies little of his time with either the duties or the privileges of citizenship. Deprived thus of much which adds substantial dignity to the lives of other men he substitutes whatever his opportunity, his inclination or his judgment directs. The nature of this substitution is the measure of his individual worth.

Apart from any social bias, his professional itinerancy ostracises him from the rest of the world nine months out of twelve. Interchange of thought upon those topics which are continually agitating mankind—art, science, religion, literature—becomes limited to the few minds about him.

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It is true the best opinions of the best intellects are always at his command in the magazines and reviews; but personal encounter with those to whom these matters are living interests—keen discussion, that sharpener of men's wits and understandings, is denied him. His world, for three-fourths of the year, is made up of perhaps less than a score of people, in not one of whom, in all probability, has he any but the most casual concern.

It is to be regretted, too, that the stage is frequently recruited from those who claim their right to admission upon the basis of the enjoyment of the necessary artistic temperament, but who in reality merely covet that freedom of life which the exigencies of the profession appear to render natural. Pitiful profanation of a God-given talent! Its possession never yet lessened the obligations of mankind. Nature demands that the artist be, first of all, the man. She gives no son of hers a quit-claim of the duties of a faithful husband, an affectionate father, and a thrifty householder.

Schlegel gave dangerous encouragement to the unscrupulous when he wrote: "Whenever he (the actor) is filled with the tradesman-like anxiety of securing a maintenance for himself, his wife, his children, there is an end of all improvement." On the contrary, the actor who loves his calling, both as an art and as an occupation, looks to it not only to satisfy his personal intellectual needs, but to provide, as well, generous material support.

While a career upon the stage offers great inducements to men, it appears to possess an especial fascination for women. Diametrically opposed types of the sex are attracted to it. The shallow woman finds occasion for the display which vanity craves. To the inconstant woman it argues excuse for the indulgence of nomadic propensities, while the capable, sincere, determined woman sees in it, of all the avenues open to her for self-support and distinction, the one wherein she holds equal chances with her brother.

And it is little wonder, in a day when women's work and women's hire are questions of such importance, that the girl specially gifted, well-born and gently reared, high principled, morally and physically robust and boldly ambitious, should turn with a sort of grateful zeal to a calling which promises to reward her, artistically and financially, according to individual merit, regardless of her sex; for in acting neither sex nor force of precedent governs recognition from the public or regulates salaries.

It is this girl, at once the anxiety and the hope, the victim no less than the inspiration of the stage, whom public opinion has most in mind when it derogates a dramatic career. Self-conscious of the worthiness of the motives which actuate her, strong because of her inexperience, self-reliant because of her ignorance, and armed with undeniable ability, she is disposed to regard with an honest contempt any questions as to the wisdom of her determination to become an actress. Perhaps it is urged that society will regret her, that home and friends will miss her. She meets every objection with the unanswerable logic of self-conviction. Before all else, she argues, it pays. She can earn as much at it as a man!

But the demands which this coveted, high-paying, quickly-promoting profession will make of her are those which she is least prepared to meet.

The inherent artistic attributes which enable her to command an enviable salary presume invariably an acute sensibility. The quality in her art which most delights, which distinguishes her, is a superlative womanliness. Up to the period of her adoption of the stage these qualities have demanded and have won for her devotion, admiration and respect from men. Here all is changed; she is now the worker, the wage-earner, entered

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in the lists with no favors for sex; and though she may flout the idea that she expects favors, the pivotal point on which her early troubles in her dramatic life turn is the fact that they are never volunteered. On the contrary, she is frequently expected to grant them. No one at all familiar with stage etiquette but knows that the struggle for preëminence between actor and actress is at times so violent that the latter, unless she be peculiarly fitted to stand out against masculine opposition, is induced to make concessions. In a word, men treat her as a business equal, with whom sharp competition is inevitable. Gentlemanly amenities, because of her sex, are always in danger of being misconstrued by her to mean professional surrender. It will then be readily seen that the woman best equipped for eminent distinction in the drama is she in whom extremes meet. Her art requires of her innate sentiment, grace, power, refinement of thought and broadness of intellect. Her material daily life on the boards demands an absolutely stolid insensibility to every form of exterior attack.

It may be pertinently suggested here that a calling which thus tends to give masculinity to the woman, perhaps effeminates the man. The question is a delicate one; the wise must answer it.

Touching the question of salaries, it is inexplicable to the thrifty in other business, how, in the face of the remuneration which meritorious acting receives, the average player is so frequently without material belongings. Various superficial causes may be advanced in explanation of it. No irremediable cause exists. Custom, which seeks to perpetuate the extravagant follies of many generations of dramatic life, is largely accountable for it. It is not to be denied that many luxuries, recognized as such and indulged in by only the solidly wealthy of other vocations, are commonly indispensable to very insignificant and moderately paid tyros of the stage. The suggestion may be more wholesome than welcome that prodigality is essentially vulgar.

The dramatic profession at large is unconventional. Let no sensitive dramatic novitiate wonder that the world decries her for having entered a calling in which are wantonly violated many of society's most rigid tenets. For society's tenets are the safeguards of human living. No man or woman can with safety ignore them. Those established rules of moral, civil and religious observance which have governed the world throughout the centuries, are very good old rules, and have accomplished their objects fairly well. Members of other crafts, devotees of other arts, follow them with wholesome results. Until the stage can offer a superior code it should not offend nice perception and good judgment by arrogating the right to disregard them.

JENNIE A. EUSTACE.

THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE IN POLITICS.

ON THANKSGIVING DAY, November 29, 1888, Dr. Richard S. Storrs, of Brooklyn, preached a sermon on the then recent election of Mr. Harrison, in the course of which, according to the report in the New York *Tribune* of the following day, he said:

"I have nothing to say to-day of the immediate or prospective political effects of this election. But there are some things, and they are great things, connected with it, which seem to me to be occasions of rejoicing for all of us, and for which we may properly and heartily give thanks to God. One is, the high character of those who have been appointed to fill the highest offices in the nation. . . . Concerning Mr.

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Morton, and concerning him who has been chosen to the higher office of the Presidency, we know that they are well-descended, well-educated, American citizens, and American Christians, ready to take and fulfil any Christian offices in the church or in society to which they are called. . . . It is a great thing for a nation to have men in whom character is so fine, and strong, and eminent, put into its highest offices. From the character of rulers comes an influence upon the character of the people. The aspiration of the young is moulded largely by it, especially when those rulers have been elected by the nation itself. It indicates its own moral tone. It indicates its own respect for Christian institutions and truths, when it elects such men to the highest offices in its gift."

The feeling which Dr. Storrs so aptly and accurately expressed in this sermon, was one which, no doubt, was largely shared by Christian people of Republican politics the country over. No close observer of the Presidential election of 1888 would hesitate to say that the religious prominence of Mr. Harrison was a significant factor in winning for him a plurality of votes in the doubtful States. It is only natural that professedly religious people should feel greater enthusiasm for, and confidence in, a candidate of strongly avowed religious professions. They, as did Dr. Storrs, see in such professions a guarantee of a higher tone in administration, and of a more conscientious discharge of official duties.

I wish here to guard myself against being misunderstood. I do not suppose, and, in my opinion, no one else of common sense supposes, that Mr. Harrison was consciously a party to any scheme by which any gossip of his religious principles was exploited for political effect. He was the same religious man in private as in public life. The gossip, which floated through the press, of how faithful he was at the "family altar," conducting morning prayers every morning through the year, and much more of the same character, was put in circulation as naturally and inevitably as the gossip of the way in which visiting delegations trampled down his lawn and carried off his fence piecemeal. But, although Mr. Harrison was in no way responsible for the circulation of this gossip, it nevertheless raised in an adroit and unanswerable way the issue of the religious character of the candidate. That issue, as it appealed to every one of religious sympathies, took the form of this question: Is it not better, as between two candidates, one of avowedly religious principle and the other not, to elect the former? Or, as Dr. Storrs put it, does not a nation indicate "its own respect for Christian institutions and truths, when it elects such men to the highest offices in its gift"?

The two candidates have been renominated, but it is significant that the religious issue of 1888 has not been again raised in this campaign of 1892. There are a number of reasons which insured this fortunate result, but they are too obvious to need repetition. As for the President, it may indeed be granted that Mr. Harrison has been governed in official, as well as in private life, by the dictates of a conscience trained to consider questions from the standpoint of religious obligation. If there has been no marked contrast in tone between his administration and that of preceding Presidents not so conspicuously identified with religious principle in politics, the fault can not be reasonably laid at his door, but must be charged to an unreasonable expectation of what religious principles should accomplish in politics, the world being as it is. It is simply human nature to overlook inconsistencies in one's own party associates according to the ideal standard. To make this apology for Mr. Harrison as a man and a Christian, is simply to say that he shares in fallible human nature, whether regenerate or unregenerate. But the fact

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that such an apology must be made for Mr. Harrison, and would probably have to be made for any other President, elected after a similar religious issue had been raised concerning him, emphasizes the poor policy, from the standpoint of the church itself, of raising in politics at all the issue of personal religious character. That issue introduces a new standard of ethics into politics. An official thus elected is judged, not according to the practice of politicians of average standing and morality, but according to the requirements of the ideal standard of conduct to which he has pledged himself.

If the conspicuously religious President were one man in a thousand, and could be depended upon to be governed in every prominent case by the dictates of an ideal standard, then the election of such a man to the Presidency would certainly indicate a nation's "own respect for Christian institutions and truths." But unfortunately a conspicuously religious President cannot be depended upon to prove this one man in a thousand. Every lapse such a President makes accentuates the fact that he is governed in practical politics by the practical code of conventional political morality. The hurtful effect upon the church (in these days, when the conduct of professing Christians is being so closely scanned to discover the practical benefit of making a Christian profession) of thus advertising the failure of the higher standard in practical life must be obvious to all.

It may be noted in passing that many of our Presidents have been professing Christians without in any way involving their Christian professions in current criticism of their official conduct. The world is tolerant and does not expect ideal conduct merely because a man is a member of a church. If he modestly and inconspicuously conforms to the conventional duties of an ordinary church member, and does not lapse into gross immorality or glaring inconsistency, the world takes little note of his avowedly religious character. This is a Christian nation. We all of us like to see those who are prominent in public life pay a decent regard to the outward forms of religion. No political party could afford to honor with high preferment an aggressive agnostic. This is the religious issue in politics of a kind which it is not intended to consider here, but is mentioned to illustrate the opposite extreme of that under consideration. It is, then, when a candidate is either conspicuously religious or conspicuously agnostic that the issue of personal religion is raised in our politics. Under ordinary circumstances a candidate's personal religious character is as little considered as the social standing of his wife or the number of his children.

This is as it should be. In this country of all others we cannot afford to introduce a fictitious standard of criticism, which may be used to palliate or to exaggerate official lapses of conduct. Such palliation or exaggeration must inevitably result from judging men in office by the ideal rather than by the practical standard. We have been considering the question from the standpoint of its effect upon the church; this is considering it from the standpoint of its effect upon the State. Raising the religious issue in politics at once divides us, common citizens of a common country, into hostile camps according to our religious views. For example, when we read how a Presbytery passes resolutions felicitating Mr. Harrison as a Presbyterian elder on the faithful discharge of his duties, those of us who are not in sympathy with Presbyterianism are at once incited to indulge in unjust sneers at the expense of his Presbyterianism. We judge him no longer as a patriotic President, but as a Presbyterian President.

How far this sort of argument may be carried is shown by Lord Mac-

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aulay when, as a zealous defender of Whig principles, he wrote of Charles I.:

"We charge him with having broken his coronation oath; and we are told that he kept his marriage vow! We accuse him of having given up his people to the merciless inflictions of the most hotheaded and hardhearted of prelates; and the defence is, that he took his little son on his knee and kissed him! We censure him for having violated the articles of the Petition of Right, after having, for good and valuable consideration, promised to observe them; and we are informed that he was accustomed to hear prayers at six o'clock in the morning!"

ARTHUR REED KIMBALL.

SANITATION *VERSUS* QUARANTINE.

SIR EDWIN ARNOLD, on the occasion of his visit to New York, is reported to have said he did not believe in quarantine. The remark was regarded as hasty and ill judged, and not as a mature opinion based upon personal experience and observation. But I think I am correct in stating that the distinguished editor of the London *Daily Telegraph* was connected with the educational department of the Province of the Punjab when I first arrived in northern India as a clergyman. If such is the case, Sir Edwin must have witnessed the ravages of the terrible cholera epidemic of 1863, the most virulent outbreak during the British administration of India.

My first experience of an outbreak of cholera was in May, 1865, my second in September, 1867; and during my twenty years' residence at the military station of Peshawar, on the Afghan frontier, I passed through five cholera epidemics, and I can fully indorse Sir Edwin Arnold's opinion regarding the futility of quarantine.

Whilst the Health Department of the New York Harbor deserves the utmost credit for its promptness of action, it must be evident to any one who has had repeated personal experience of Asiatic cholera that cholera in an epidemic form has never reached New York, nor has it yet crossed the Atlantic. Had there been epidemic cholera on the "Normannia," for example, what would have been the condition of the crowd of passengers who were shut up within the steel walls of the infected ship? The treatment of the passengers of the "Normannia" proved beyond question how thoroughly unprepared the Health Department of the city of New York was for the approach of the disease in an epidemic form. The conditions of a military station in India such as Peshawar are not unlike those of a great Atlantic steamer. Everything, even to the drains and cesspools of a cantonment, are under the strictest supervision, and every article of food which crosses its cordon of military police can be closely inspected. But when cholera does enter a military station the methods employed for arresting the spread of the disease are the very reverse of those which obtained on the steamship "Normannia." In India the healthy and strong are removed from the dangers of infection, and not the sick and dying. If there had been epidemic cholera on the steamship "Normannia" the passengers who were left thereon would have been more than decimated.

For a genuine case of Asiatic cholera of epidemic type we may cite the recent outbreak in Karachi, the seaport of Sindh, on the 8th of August last, when in five days there were 798 cases, of which 640 proved fatal. In a seaport city like Karachi sporadic cholera always exists, and no alarm is excited when the disease assumes an epidemic form.

If the reports of the Health Department of the city of New York are

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correct there have been ten cases of Asiatic cholera in different parts of the city. The invader has therefore passed quarantine notwithstanding its strict enactments. But these cases could not possibly have been epidemic, for no one will dare to assert that the sanitary conditions of New York city are so perfect and complete as to effect that which the sanitary conditions of a cantonment in India under the strictest military discipline fails to do.

There is a consensus of opinion among those who have carefully watched the invasion of cholera in India that quarantine is well nigh useless. It is sometimes harmful. For instance, it may be questioned whether civilized nations should permit a quarantine which could, as in the case of the "Normannia," shut up hundreds of healthy people in an infected pest trap.

I remember in the year 1867, when cholera had reached Peshawar, a military cordon was placed round the garrison, which was about two miles distant from the infected city. But it proved perfectly useless. In the middle of the night the epidemic entered the artillery barracks and seized the soldiers sleeping on the west side of the barracks, whilst those sleeping on their cots on the east side were unharmed.

During the last twenty years it has been demonstrated, both in the native city of Peshawar, with its 60,000 inhabitants and its garrison of 20,000 troops, that epidemic cholera can be arrested by sanitation rather than by quarantine. Since the British occupation of Peshawar there have been in all eight visitations of epidemic cholera. Three have been of the most virulent type, but a new water supply, more perfect drainage, and a strict sanitary supervision, have vastly reduced the ravages of recent epidemics.

In September, 1867, the corps of medical men at Peshawar found it almost impossible to distinguish between the malarious, or miasmatic fever, so common to the Peshawar valley, and the ordinary Asiatic cholera, and from what I have seen of the reports of the cases which have occurred both on the Atlantic steamers and in the city of New York I should be inclined to believe that real epidemic cholera has not yet crossed the ocean. We must look out for the approach of the enemy in the month of May. Even in the Punjab, with its snowless winters, cholera has never appeared in an epidemic form in what is known as "the cold weather." It would therefore be wiser to attribute the disappearance of cholera from our midst to the approach of the cold weather, rather than to the strictness of quarantine or to the completeness of sanitary precautions.

Taken from the standard of British India, I should say that the unsanitary condition of New York city was about as favorable to the generation of epidemic cholera as that of the city of Karachi. It has been said that New York is one of the best drained cities of the world. This is probably so. But it is singularly malarious, and malaria generates cholera. Its water supply may be good. But I am a water-drinker, and after having drunk the water of four continents I must confess that I have never tasted water more unpleasant to the palate than that which is supplied to the citizens of New York. As to the sanitary conditions of the city nothing could be worse. Within a few yards from my church off East Seventy-fourth street a dead dog lay on the open street for forty-eight hours, although policemen must have passed and repassed the nuisance on their daily beat. At ten o'clock last Monday morning, when walking round the blocks near Seventy-sixth street and Third avenue, I found dust-bins full of offensive garbage exposed to the burning sun, and upon complaint I was told it is not the rule of the city to remove these dust-bins before sunrise. Now, in civilized cities,

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whether in India or in England, it is the rule to remove all filth during the hours of the night, and before sunrise, and if the Health Department of this city of New York do not see the necessity of such an arrangement they have certainly not learned the initial principles of sanitation. The expectorating habits of the American citizen are also singularly favorable to the spread of infectious diseases, and in the event of a threatened invasion of epidemic cholera attention should at once be given to the use of disinfectants in the cars of the elevated railroads. A conductor on the Third Avenue Elevated assured me the other day that the public have not the least conception of the filthy habits of passengers on the elevated railroads.

We may conclude that there has been no *epidemic cholera* in the city of New York. But there has been a cholera scare of very gigantic dimensions. It is probable that in the world's history the grim visage of Asiatic cholera has never absorbed so many gallons of printers' ink, nor filled so many columns of newspaper matter. But there is a respite—a respite probably of *six months*. And let us devoutly pray that those in authority will turn their attention from quarantine to sanitation.

THOMAS P. HUGHES, D. D.

THE NATURALIZATION PROBLEM.

THE immigration and naturalization problems were never of so much importance as they are to-day. Probably there has not been a period in our history in which they have received so large an amount of public attention as they are receiving now. Not the habits, national prejudices, and ideas of government of a considerable part of one nation, but of fifty nations, must be overcome, and their language and allegiance changed in order that the United States may absorb all these new arrivals and work them over into American citizens. The history of the world does not mention another nation which has been called upon to solve problems of this kind in anything like the virulent form in which they are presented to us. The chronicle of the events of the earth gives many instances of one nation having been absorbed by another. But not in the annals of mankind has one people been overrun by all the other nations of the earth with an army which is reinforced every week by a body of recruits numbering more than the whole of many a conquering army in mediæval times.

A few of the more important features of the naturalization problem, as they appear in New York city, will be found both interesting and instructive. This is the port of all the ports in the country where not only the largest number of immigrants arrive each year, but where more naturalizing is done than at any other place in the Union.

Some time previous to 1872 the issuing of naturalization papers was characterized by the grossest frauds, and the records are in a chaotic condition. It has been estimated that in the year 1868 alone somewhere in the neighborhood of 40,000 fraudulent naturalization papers were put into circulation. Many of these certificates, it should be explained, never saw a court or a judge, and were forgeries pure and simple.

A general purging of the city government followed soon afterwards with the breaking up of the Tweed "ring," and since that time, until within a few years, no charges have been made that any considerable number of fraudulent certificates of naturalization have been issued. Recently numer-

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ous complaints of that character have been recorded and some of the offenders have been punished.

From the records of the Superior Court it is learned that in the last twenty years representatives of thirty-eight nations have disavowed their allegiance to the land of their birth to become subjects of the United States. This, it should be remembered, is the record of one court alone. In the same period there were 76,537 persons naturalized in this court. The records of the Court of Common Pleas would about duplicate this showing. In the United States Court the number is very much smaller, owing to the double cost. These three are the only courts where naturalization papers are issued in New York city.

As might be expected, in years of Presidential elections three and occasionally four times as many citizens are made as there are in any one of the three years immediately preceding or following. The year 1891 was a marked exception to that rule. No Presidential election was held last fall, and yet more than 9,000 citizens were made in the Superior Court alone last year. This is double the highest number made in any previous non-Presidential year since 1872.

An important feature of the question is found in the extremely large number of persons naturalized in October of each year in comparison with the grand total for the year. According to the law in New York State no naturalized citizen can vote unless he has secured his naturalization papers at least ten days before election day. To prevent frauds at the polls, through the carelessness of the election inspectors in looking at the dates of naturalization certificates, no papers are issued in the ten days immediately preceding election day. In spite of this fact we have the apparent paradox that in this one shortened month more than two and one-half times as much naturalizing is done than is accomplished in the remaining eleven full months of the year! For example, in the period already mentioned 55,061 persons were naturalized in the twenty months of October, leaving only 21,476 for the remaining 220 months. In other words, the average for eleven months each year has been 97 persons naturalized each month, while for each October the average has been 2,753 persons.

This condition of affairs is due largely to the institutions known as "naturalization bureaus," which are established each fall by both the principal political parties. The promoters of these concerns go into the slums and drag out every semblance of a man that they can find, pay for his certificate, find some one who will swear that he has been in the country five years, and, no doubt, in many cases, offer him a pecuniary reward for supporting the party at the polls.

These embryotic citizens whom they unearth are, in very many cases, totally ignorant of our forms of government, and their ignorance is only exceeded by their indifference as to the result of an election, or as to the principles involved. Each person, to become a citizen, must have a witness who will swear that he has known the applicant in this country for five years, and that during that time he has "behaved as a man of good moral character, is attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same."

Not the slightest difficulty is experienced in securing plenty of these witnesses. They were so bold last fall that they were hanging about the corridors of the County Court House, and would offer to be witnesses for a small amount. Why the political parties should be allowed to pay for the

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naturalization papers of these men it is difficult to understand. The politicians certainly would not pay even the small sum which each certificate costs unless they expected to get in return a vote for each paper secured.

While our indignation is reaching a white heat, however, over the abuses of the naturalization laws in the East, it might be well to look away from our immediate homes on the Atlantic coast and observe for a moment the methods of procedure in the West. The main point for which the politicians seem to be working is to make "voters" as distinguished from "citizens." Under the law and the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States the different States have enacted regulations governing the qualifications for voters. These rules, it must be kept in mind, are for the government of those casting ballots for Presidential electors, members of Congress, and all elective federal officers, as well as for State officials. Thus we have the anomaly of an alien who may not vote in one State going a few miles into another, where his ballot is counted for the same candidates that he was not allowed to vote for in the first State.

It is due to this vicious system that we are treated to the melancholy sight of a hundred Italian laborers landing at Ellis Island one day, being marched to one or another of the courts the next morning to declare their intentions of becoming citizens, being loaded into cars in the afternoon, voting for federal officers in some Western town a month later, and returning to the town of their birth two or three years afterwards, to live in practical idleness the remainder of their lives. Many of them never had the slightest intention of becoming American citizens; they knew scarcely anything, and cared less, about the meaning of the operation they had passed through.

From the experience in this city I should say that to correct abuses—

First, We should have uniform qualifications for voters for federal officers throughout the Union.

Second, The naturalization bureaus should be suppressed.

Third, Judges should exercise more care in carrying out the naturalization laws.

H. B. BRADBURY.

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